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ART. I.—MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION OF
SAHARUNPORE.

HURDWAR.—A volume might be written about the mythology of Hurdwar. Its sanctity, besides being intrinsic, reflects that of the many holy places situated within the same mysterious region, parts of which are associated in the Brahminical mind with superstitions much more venerable than the belief in the efficacy of periodical bathing unto salvation. We here find ourselves at the threshold of the Hindoo heaven, and tread the same ground as ancient Svayumbhuva, at once the Noah and the Adam of the East. The most meagre review of the local myths carries us back to the Creation.

From the Snowy Range to the temple of Kupoolnauth at Myapore, from the River Towse* (Támsá) to Mount Budâchul, spreads an Eden of surpassing loveliness, two hundred *koss* long by one hundred and seventy wide—the Kidârkhund. There dwelt the great god Shiv, countless ages ago, when the precinct was an impalpable entity not confined to material boundaries, visible to human eyes, and in the form of Bramha, performed the work of creation. The Sewaliks, the hills of Shiv, mark the divine abode.†

* In the Doon.

† These hills are all included in "Mount Himâchul," but each separate ridge has its individual name, *e.g.*, the Nil Purvut east of Hurdwar, beyond the Nil Dhârâ or main stream of the Ganges; the Bil Purvut west of Hurdwar. "Sewalik" is identical with "Shiwala," the common appellation of the coniform temples dedicated to Mahadev; the proper word is Shivalaya (from शिवलय an abode). On the Saharunpore side of the hills, the term "Sewalik" is not generally used, but in the Doon the "Shib Puhâr"

is commonly spoken of. The account of the word given by the Dehra Mohunt and retailed by Thornton (Gazetteer), originated in the former's ignorance of the elements of Sanskrit. "Sewalik, a corruption of Sivawâlâ." The Muhammadan derivation (*v.* Teimours and Baber's Memoirs) from *suwa-lakh* a "lakh and a quarter" is well known.

The Shri Bhugvut places the heaven of Shiv on the top of Mt. Koilâs, 16,000 miles from earth (Ward, iii, p. 25, Heeren, iii, p. 220). The moderate elevation of Koilâs

After the creation of the world, Bramha had ten sons. One of these, a contemporary and son-in-law of the first man Svayumbhuva, was Duksh Prijâputee. This country, then called Himâvut Desh, was subject to him. Its name was therefore changed to Duksh Prijâputee Kshetr. Duksh, being lord of all, gave a grand feast जग. To it were asked Vushist and all the other Munies and Brahmans; Indra, too, and the rest of the gods. Shiv, the host's son-in-law, alone was not invited. His daughter, Mâyâ, the destroyer's wife, came unbidden. She was consequently treated with contumely, nay, subjected to the humiliation of hearing insulting remarks aimed at her husband. Driven wild by her father's taunts, she burned herself to death in the sacrificial fire—the first instance of a Suttee, whence she is styled Mâyâ Suttee. The scene of her self-immolation is an old tank—the Suttee Kund—not far from Kunkhul. Blind with rage, Mahadev flew to the spot, and picking up her charred corpse on the prongs of his trident, rushed away. In one place fell an eye; in another, a leg; in a third, some other part of her body—and from each remain grew a Devee. One was Oojlee Mâtâ (Devee), whose temple is close by. She is represented with eight arms, sitting on a tiger, and her help is invoked whenever a child is smitten with small-pox. Mâyâ will presently reappear in another form.

The destroyer struck off Duksh's head. Bramha and the other gods, horrified, implored Shiv to resuscitate his relative. The fierce deity, appeased, restored Duksh to life. The grateful Prijâputee accordingly erected the temple of the Duksheshwur Mahadev near the Ganges north of Kunkhul. This shrine marks *Duksheshwur Tirth*, the sanctity of which is of a more venerable antiquity than that of Gunga herself, for she did not come till the incarnation of the seventh Munnoo. Kunkhul is in consequence most holy, and a man like unto a Chandâl obtains everlasting life from bathing there. A sacred grove once shaded the place. Some Muhammadan tyrant, named Afrásâ, burned it down. Gunga, enraged, rose and swept away his elephants, horses and men, so that he was fain to distribute alms among the Brahmans and depart.*

When Duksh was raised from the dead, Mahadev granted a boon—that the scene of the unlucky festival should be sacred

compared with the stupendous height of other mythological mountains, preserves to a certain extent the proportion between the lower hills and the more lofty Himalayan ranges. Vishnu is usually regarded as the creator, Shiv as the destroyer, but the worship of the latter prevails,

and the Hurdwar Brahmins follow the authority of the Askund Puran.

* This story has a very recent origin. The derivation of Kunkhul is said to be कू "who?" and खू "worthless, bad"—for who is so bad that his sins cannot be cleansed by bathing there?

and a place of pilgrimage, under the name of Māyāpooree Kshetr, and that whoever performed charitable observances there, should be requited immeasurably.

Māyāpooree Kshetr reaches from Sheo Kootee in Terree, eighteen *koss* north of Hurdwar, to the temple of Puchewul Nauth Mahadev, eighteen *koss* south, on the right bank of the Ganges, near Sultānpoor Kunāree. The eastern boundary is a line drawn through the Sewaliks, parallel to the Brimh Khund or bathing-ghaut, and six *koss* from it ; the western is a similar line also drawn at a distance of six *koss* from the ghaut, past the Huriswutee Nuddee, which must be one of the many streams intersecting the Puthree Nuddee Jungle, perhaps an old branch of the Ganges.

It requires no great penetration to recognise in this tract the famous Brambāverta, "frequented by the gods, the scene of the adventures of the first princes, the residence of the most famous sages."*

Besides Prijāputee, Bramha had many other sons : Atree, born from his eyes, settled at Kunkhul ; Vushisht, born "from the air" which produces deglutition" settled at Joulapore. Mureechee, like Atree, proceeded from his eyes ; his son, Kasyapa Munee, married Duksh's daughter, Aditi, and received Māyāpoor (Myapore) as his portion. The sage Gautum took up his abode in Mirspoor, and Sândil, in Shivpooree. These five towns constitute the original seat of the true Brahmans, descended from the guests invited to the tragic feast. They are called the *Punjpooree*.

The mysteries of Māyā's death and her father's resuscitation took place in the Sutyā Yug, preluding a stupendous phenomenon—the Deluge.

Kushyapa's grandson was Sradhev or Vaivuswuta Munoo. He, in the form of Sutyavrata, King of Dravydya, near the Himalaya† was one day making a libation to the manes of his ancestors on the banks of the river of Kritmālā, when a little fish swam into the hollow of his hand, and the Raja replaced it in the water. Addressing him humbly, the creature thus spoke ; "why dost thou leave me to be eaten by the monsters who devour such little fish as I ? I dread the waters of this river." The king therefore took the fish under his protection, and placed it in his *lotah*. During the night it grew too large for so small a vessel, and besought Satyavrata, saying, "oh, take me out and put me in some larger place !" So he threw it into a pond. In a few minutes the fish increased two cubits, and exclaimed, "I cannot stay here, let me have more room, for I am under thy protection." The Rájá

* Elphinstone i., p. 395. The square *koss*, i.e., $36+12=48$; in-Brahmans generally speak of the stead of $12 \times 36=432$ sq. *koss*. tract as covering a superficies of 48 † v. Tod's Rajasthan, vol i, p. 21.

consequently placed the miraculous animal in an enormous tank, where it grew still larger and complained again of want of room. At last he put it into the sea, where it became a whale, and said, notwithstanding, to Satyavrata, "other huge fishes will devour me, so it was wrong to put me here." Hearing this the King said; "who art thou that 'dost mock my spiritual ignorance? Never have I seen or heard of such a fish as thou, who hast in one day grown 100 *jojuns* (400 *koss*). I am certain thou must be Narain, who assumes various forms for the purpose of protecting human beings. I adore thee, and desire to know with what object thou hast taken this shape." Vishnu Bhugwân replied, "on the 7th day from this, the three worlds will be deluged with waters; thou shalt then get on board an ark sent by me, with all sorts of medicinal herbs and seeds of every kind and pairs of all living creatures, and sail upon the bosom of the waters in company with the seven Rishies. The lustre of the sun and moon shall fade, but not that of the seven Rishies, and the ark will withstand the fury of the elements. Lash the vessel to my horn with the coils of the great serpent, and I will tow it about through the waves protecting thee for the sake of the seven Saints."

In due season the Deluge came, and as long as the floods prevailed, Bhugwân, in the figure of a fish, preserved Satyavrata from their fury, dragging along the ark tied to his horn.

Just as the seventh Menu, Vaivaswata is identical with the first Svayumbhuva: so Duksh, Shiv's father-in-law, created from Bramha with nine others at the beginning of the world by that legerdemain common in Hindu mythology, reappears in the person of another Duksh fifteenth in descent from the first man, one of whose ancestors Prithoo, "settled the whole world," and performed the sacrifice of the horse one hundred times. This confusion of persons symbolizes the leading idea of these myths; viz., that Máyápooree Kshetr (Bramháverta?) was the cradle of the human race, both before and after the flood.*

The Sutya Yug had elapsed, and yet another marvel was to come to pass — the descent of the Ganges from heaven in the Treta Yug.

King Sagur, having no children, condemned himself to a long and severe penance, during which the sage Bhrigoo appearing to the penitent, promised him no less than 60,000 sons. To his disgust, Sagur's queen was delivered of a pumpkin. This the king dashed upon the ground in a rage. His want of faith was

* Duksh II. may of course be precise about making Duksh I. the considered the hero of Máyákshetr; father-in-law of Shiv, as well as of I, however, follow the authority of Kushup Vaivaswata's grandfather. my local informants, who are very

rebuked, for from the seeds of the fruit rose 60,000 children who were promptly placed in 60,000 pans of milk by as many nurses. When they grew up, their father resolved to perform his hundredth Ashwamedh. The reigning Indra, apprehensive of Sagur's succession to the throne of heaven, stole the intended victim, and placed it in the dwelling of the sage Kupela, to avert suspicion, in case it should be found. The 60,000 sons, having searched the surface of the earth in vain, began to dig downwards, and penetrated to *patalu* (hell), where the horse was standing beside Kupela. Supposing him to be the thief, they were debating whether they should tie him up and beat him, when the wise man awaking from his mental abstraction, they were straightway reduced to ashes. The king learning this, sent his second Ranee's son Asmunjus to the holy man, who returned the horse with a message that if Sagur washed the remains of his children in Gunga's waters, they would be restored.

Sagur died a hermit. His great grandson Dulipa, likewise became an ascetic, and, being childless, prayed to the gods for a son, as well as for the deliverance of those of his great grandfather. Shiva promised him offspring from the intercourse of his two queens, one of whom brought forth a shapeless mass of flesh. The monster was called Bhugeeruth. One day, Ashtabukr, a hump-backed muneer of unsteady gait, came to visit the ladies. Their son, rising to greet him, wriggled in such a way that Ashtabukr thought the boy was imitating him, and exclaimed, "if thou canst not help wriggling thus, be a perfect child; but if thou art mocking me—perish!" Bhugeeruth's grotesque figure immediately developed into perfection. The old man blessed him and prayed for the resuscitation of Sagur's 60,000 sons, until Bramha in pity gave him a drop of Ganges water; Vishnu, a shell, the blast of which the goddess could not help following. Bhugeeruth blew the instrument (its sound is familiar to our ears) and Gunga descended upon earth on the tenth day of the moon's increase in Jeyth.* In her course she accidentally swept away the mendicant's dish, flowers and other religious appurtenances of the pious Junhoo, who flew into a rage and swallowed her up, though moved by Bhugeeruth's prayers, he allowed her to escape through his thigh, whence she has been called Junhuvee. The goddess and her companion were now doubtful in what direction they should proceed, not knowing precisely where the remains of the 60,000 were. She therefore divided herself into one hundred streams, to ensure the success of her mission. At length her healing waters found their way to the ashes of Sagur's

* Shiv Jee caught her on his head by her weight, to prevent the earth being crushed

children, who were freed from the curse of Kupela and borne to heaven in chariots.

Meanwhile, Gunga's departure caused a great commotion among the 330 million gods of the Hindoo pantheon, for how could they any longer wash away their own sins and iniquities? A petition was sent to Bramha. He effected a compromise, deciding that she should continue to rise in heaven and only flow over the earth. She accordingly has three names. The immortal gods call her Mumdakinee, mortal men Gunga, and the inhabitants of the infernal regions, Bhuguvutee or Bhugiruthee.

There is a difference of opinion as to whether she is the daughter of Mount Himávut, or an emanation from the sweat of Vishnu's foot, caught up by Bramha in his alm's dish. Her idol is the figure of a white woman wearing a crown, holding a water-lily in her right hand, and riding a sea monster.

The advent of the beneficent Deity dimmed the memory of Máyá's suttee, so that during the rest of the Treta Yug, the name of Gungádwár superseded that of *Máyápooree kshetr*.

In the Dwápur Yug, Huree or Vishnoo Bhugwan, manifesting his presence at Gungádwár, its name was changed to Hureedwár.

In the Kul Jug, owing to the prevalence of the worship of Hur or Mahadev, the name "*Hureedwár*" threw the former into the shade. Both Hurdwar and Hureedwar are, however, correct, because through this portal (*dwár*) all pilgrims must pass before visiting the shrine of Budree Narain (Vishnu) and Kedárnauth (Shiv) in the higher Himalayas.* Those who desire to accomplish the more arduous undertaking are initiated here. The neophyte, descending the great bathing-ghaut, the *Hur-kee-pairee*, or Mahadev's stairs, plunges into the sacred pool beneath (the *Brimh khund*), and is then qualified to proceed farther.†

The original Hur-kee-pairee was, the Brahmans allege, destroyed by the Budhists, and rebuilt, together with the Hur munder

* Heeren (vol. iii., p. 281 *seq.*) considers that the original seat of the Brahmans is in the very heart of the Himalayas, at Budreenauth itself. The idea is evidently preposterous. It is far more likely that some of the priesthood first settled at Hurdwár, and then felt their way into the northern solitudes, than *vice versa*. In 1807 two or three hundred pilgrims are said to have forfeited their lives in the attempt to reach the more remote temples.

† The following quaint translation of a passage from Bernier gives an excellent description of the process of ablution—"these idolators at once

"plunged themselves wholly into the water, I know not how many times one after another; standing up afterwards in the water, and lifting their eyes and hands to heaven, muttering and praying with great devotion, and from time to time taking water with their hands, which they threw upwards towards the sun; bowing down their heads very low, moving and turning their arms and hands sometimes one way, and sometimes another, and thus continuing their plunging, praying, and apishness unto the end of the eclipse."

to the left of it, by Shunker Swāmee during the Brahminical revival. Of Mahadev's temple Muhammadan iconoclasts have left little except some skilfully carved masonry, bearing representations of elephants, horses, and small human figures. Rájá Mán Singh of Jeypore improved the old ghaut, and our own engineers again remodelled his work.

Bathing in the Ganges is always efficacious, but regular fairs are held at certain auspicious periods.

The *Mekhee* (so called from मेख the Ram), the ordinary annual fair, occurs every April,* in the month of Baisakh, when the sun enters Aries according to the solar computation of the Hindoos.

The *Kumbh* (so called from कुम्भ the Watering Pot), occurs every twelfth year, when at the time of the sun's entrance into Aries, Jupiter is in Aquarius.

The *Bárunee* fair takes place when the 13th day of the dark half of Chait is a Saturday; the *Maha Bárunee*, when the twenty-fourth lunar mansion (Sutbisha) corresponds with the same period, and then one must fast till the bathing is over; and the *Maha Maha Bárunee*, when, in addition to all these conditions, the *yogá* for the day is Subhá, i.e., the twenty-third of "twenty-seven divisions of 360 of a great circle, measured upon the "ecliptic."†

These are the principal fairs, but besides them, there are many others; in the month of *Sárun*, when the sun enters Cancer, and in the month of *Magh*, when it enters Capricorn; whenever there is an eclipse of the sun or moon; on the 17th of every Hindoo month (a very auspicious day); on the last day of every month (*Poorunmáshee*); on the 15th day of every month (*Mavish*), and the fair is larger if the day be Saturday; and at the *Dusuhra*, on the 10th of the moon's increase in *Jeyth*.

The last-mentioned festival is celebrated in honour of Gunga's descent from heaven, and the fact of its being among the less important annual gatherings justifies the presumption that the sanctity of the river has a more remote origin than the fable of her appearance here below. It must have emanated from a principle less material than anthropomorphism—man's natural impulse to revere the powers of nature.

To ensure the washing away of sins by ablution in the Hindoo Jordan, the sincere desire for their remission is necessary. Mr. Ward mentions a proverb aptly illustrating the feelings with which the orthodox Hindoo regards the ceremony.‡ To die like "Rájá Nuva Krishna" of Nuddea was (1800 A.D.) tantamount

* Generally on the 11th.

‡ III, p. 214.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. ix, p. 365.

"to dying like a dog." This reprobate preferred breathing his last dying quietly in his bed to a suicidal immersion in the holy river.

The Brahminical rubric distinguishes almost every square foot of ground around Hurdwar. A few of the more sacred spots deserve to be signalised.

Gunesh Ghaut, is the first Tirth between Myapore and Hurdwar, where a branch leaves the parent stream to fertilise the plains below. To bathe, give alms and perform the usual religious ceremonies there, is a special act of virtue.

Then the pilgrim meets a ravine running down from the Suwâliks to the water's edge—the *Lultâ Rao*, properly called the *Shiv Dhárâ*. After bathing near it, one becomes like unto Shiv.

A huge banyan tree shades the *Biluk Tirth* sacred to Bilkeshwur Mahadeo.

Beyond it is *Bishw Tirth* where Rájá Ven (Dhurm Dhvuj) lies, turned into a snake by the curse of Durvāsā. Ablution in its waters "ensures absorption into Bramha."

If the pilgrim has committed the crime of killing a cow, even accidentally, he expiates his offence farther on, at Gao Ghaut the *cul-de-sac* of a narrow lane skirting the famous Aláhya Bye's house. A *mehter* taps him gently on the head with a shoe, and thus purified, he proceeds to the Brimh kund, where a crowning immersion entitles him to attempt a more dangerous pilgrimage.

The myth about king Sagur's sons, is typical of Gunga's saving powers. It has been asserted that they would fail in a few years, that the *Kumbh* fair of 1867 was the last but two of the great duodecennial meetings. The report excited much interest, and the Cashmere Rájá convened a jury of learned pundits to settle the question.* They all agreed in the immortality of the goddess's sanctity, her glory would never depart, they decided abiding always in five places, Hurdwār, Keedār, Kāshee Gungootree, and Gunga Sagur.

Some endeavour to reconcile the doctrine of the approaching decline of river-worship in the north of India, with the contrary belief. A time may come when Gunga will pass away; the period is, however, so distant as not to affect ordinary terrestrial calculations. the goddess has not yet reached Patalu; Sagur's sons have not been redeemed; and the true reading of the Hindoo Scripture is this:—

When Rájá Bhugeeruth was doing penance and magnifying the deity, the serpents—the *Nágs*—were engaged in the very same

* Many Brahmans will deny this, but I am positive that it was the case; also, that before the Rájá came, the pundits unanimously declared to me that three *Kumbhs* only remained. Sleeman's Rambles and Recollections, vol. i, p. 6.

way, desiring to draw her down to hell. She appeared to him first and he besought her not to go without having absolved Sagur's sons. Having heard his petition, she went with him to the place where the *Nágs* were doing penance. The venomous reptiles approached the goddess, burning up the trees and plants with their fiery poison, as they came. Bhugeeruth glorified them, and being appeased they did him no hurt, but would have carried the goddess away, had not she also magnified them. Her submission delighted the *Nágs* exceedingly so they told her to ask a favour. She said, "Bhugeeruth has petitioned me to "absolve Sagur's sons. Let me then delay my coming to *putál*, "till the second *churn* of the *kule yug* when I will go to your "world, after having resuscitated them."

As we are now only in the first *churn* (cycle ?) of the *kul yug*, many a year must elapse before the descent of the goddess to the infernal regions and her final disappearance.

This legend, which apparently has a special significance, will be again referred to.

Sháhkumree Deveen.—The worship of Deveen, in the person of *Māyā* (Até, Delusion), underlies the sanctity of Hurdwar. Deveen reappears in the local mythology as the destroyer of the Titans. A wild ravine called after her pierces the north-western Sewaliks. Her temple, small and gloomy, has nothing to denote its importance except the beauty of the surrounding scenery.

The giants, Sumbh and Nu Sumbh, drove the Deotas out of heaven and ruled over the three worlds. The gods made a rude image* of Deveen, and adoring it, did penance on Mount Himáchul. Parvutee descending from Mount Koilas to bathe, beheld the assembled deities absorbed in prayer. She asked them what was the object of their worship. They remained silent, plunged in meditation, but a substance of the same essence (*Shuktee*) proceeding from her body, *Kálkee Deveen*, the goddess of death, said, "Parvutee, these Deotas persecuted by Sumbh and Nu Sumbh, "adore me."

Now, one day, Chund Moond, a follower of the two Titans, met Parvutee riding upon a tiger over the crest of the hills, and perceiving her beauty to exceed that of all women, told his master what he had seen ; treasures from among gods, men, *Kákshasas* and *Nágas* were in their dwelling, but he had discovered a jewel among women on the tops of the Himalaya, named Deveen, surpassing everything. Hearing this, they sent their messenger, Sugreev, to Deveen. He begged her to accompany him to the dwelling of the giants, and Sumbh, the elder king, would make her the chief of his queens (*Putraanee*). She answered, "I know Sumbh to "be lord of the universe and all the treasures therein. Still I

* A *pindee*, or round ball of earth or stone.

"cannot go near him, for when a child, while playing with other girls, I made a vow that I would marry no one who could not vanquish me in battle. Go and give him this answer." This scornful message exasperated Sumbh exceedingly, and he sallied forth with his army, thinking to seize her.

When he and his followers came near, she made many *Shuktees* spring from her body, but Sumbh had a myrmidon, called Rikt Beej whose blood was seed, and wherever a drop of it fell, a strong Deyt (Titán), equal to himself, grew up, so that as the Goddess and her "*fetches*" struck him, making his blood flow, innumerable Deyts sprang forth. The gods trembled at this, and wondered how she could possibly win. Parvutee, undismayed, shot out eight arms each wielding a weapon, and exhorted her double, *Kálee*, to open her mouth and assume a terrible aspect. *Kálee* forthwith joined in the fight and drank up the blood which fell beneath the other Devee's blows. Thus all the Deyts perished and Nu Sumbh himself was destroyed. Sumbh alone survived. He, enraged, taunted the goddess saying, "oh Devee, thou hast no reason to be proud of having destroyed so large a host; hadst thou performed the feat single-handed, I should have admitted thy superiority. Since, however, so many *Shuktees* have helped thee, I do not acknowledge myself beaten." She therefore challenged him to single combat. Such an encounter ensued as amazed all, both Deotas and Deyts. Nu Sumbh's death decided the event of the day, and the gods magnified Devee. She, being pleased, promised to grant any favour they might ask. They answered "oh Devee, thou hast fulfilled our desires but we ask yet another boon, that whenever we are in difficulty, if we call upon thee, thou wilt speedily help us, and whenever any mortal utters thy name, thou wilt protect him also." She replied, "good—it shall be so; and I may now reveal the names of the different forms in which I will avert evil from mankind; remember them; 1st, *Bind Bāsnee*, on Mountain Bindyáchul; 2nd, *Joonesree* and *Yumnesree*, on Mountain Buhg Kot; 3rd, *Shákumree* and *Sutákshee*, on Mount Sur Kot. My other names are enumerated in the Kidârkhund and Mârkundé purânâs* and can thence be learned." The gods enquired the meaning of the third. She explained, when the great hundred years' famine takes place and

* She has ten other names; 1st, as Doorga, she received the messenger of the giants; 2nd, as Dushubhooja, she destroyed part of their army; 3rd, as Singhuva-hinee, she fought with Riktbeej; 4th, as Muhishumurdinee, she slew Sumbh, in the form of a buffalo; 5th, as Juguddhattree,

she overcame the Titanic host; 6th, as Kalee, she destroyed Riktbeej; 7th, as Mooktukeshie, she finally discomfited the army of the giants; 8th, as Tára, she killed Sumbh; 9th, as Chinumustuka, she killed Nu Sumbh; 10th, as Jogudgouree, she was praised by all the gods.

"Deotas, Rishies, Tapishies, men, all begin to die, then shall they worship me and I will produce from my body a *sâk* (vegetable) to wit, the *Surâl* (a sort of yam) upon this mountain Sur Kot, and give them nourishment. Hence I shall be named *Shākumree*." Having thus spoken the goddess disappeared and the gods likewise departed.

The great famine happened in this wise. The Rishee Gautuma, stern ascetic though he was, could not resist the charms of the beautiful Ahelya, and married her. He soon repented of his choice. Indra, the god of rain, a most unscrupulous deity, previously guilty of stealing king Sagur's horse, conceiving a guilty passion for the sage's wife, proceeded to satisfy his desires at the first opportunity afforded by the good man's absence. Gautuma unexpectedly returned and detecting him in the act of adultery, exclaimed, "ah rascal! hast thou come to work evil in my house?" Then snatching up the deer skin which he used as a couch, he smote Indra, and uttered a curse so disgusting that my pen cannot record the expression of the infuriated saint. Suffice it to say, the imprecation worked, the god's body became one mass of sores, and he retired to do penance in the Sewaliks, devoting himself to the worship of Shiv.* In consequence of his seclusion, no rain fell during one hundred years, and an universal famine prevailed. There was neither water to drink, nor anything to eat, no, not even grass or leaves. The Mumees and Deotas had recourse to Devee—praying for the fulfilment of her prophecy. She regarded them with one hundred eyes, whence her second name Sutâkshee (सुत, 100—अक्षि, eye) and kept her promise, nourishing all living creatures in the form of a yam.†

The fossils found in the Sewaliks are esteemed trophies of Devee's prowess against the giants, while the *surâl* (*pueraria tuberosa*) is a living monument of her beneficence to mankind. This bulb grows abundantly on both sides of the Sewaliks, and being a common article of diet among the poorer classes, is, in their eyes, a voucher for the authenticity of the myth. During the famine of 1861, it was greatly sought after; here, the Brahman will assert, history repeated itself.

* The Indresur Mahadev. There are the ruins of an old Hindoo fort called Indurpore at the entrance of the Shakumber Devee Pass. Though most of the masonry has been carted away to serve engineering purposes, and the site is covered with brambles, still enough remains to show that the structure was once extensive. The Brahmans say this was Indra's

residence during his banishment. Rationalists ascribe its foundation to Rana Indeer Seyn, a chieftain, contemporary with Shunker Achârj.

† There is a collateral myth of great obscurity, which represents Devee to have saved the universe in the form of Lukshmee obtained by Vishnu at the churning of the sea.

Having satisfied their hunger, the gods erected a temple and set up two idols therein, the one of Deveen the vegetarian (*Sākumree*), the other of Deveen, the Hundred-eyed (*Sutákshee*). The Buddhists demolished the building and overthrew the images. In the year 426 S. Shunker Acharj * brought Rájá Dhurmpāl to Sur Kot, and restored the place, which was again knocked down by the orders of Aurungzebe. The ruins lay concealed beneath a mass of accumulating vegetation, till the rise of Nujeebw Dowlah, when Mirs Ram Jee Das of Saharunpore, a distinguished pundit and physician, a devoted worshipper of Doorga or Deveen, had, during a sojourn at Jusmore, a vision commanding him to disinter the remains of the shrine. Next morning a Goojur herding cattle, told the pundit that his cow had strayed into the hills, and while following her, he had discovered traces of an old temple. Ram Jee Das went with the man and having examined the spot perceived the truth of the dream and understood more clearly the force of what is written in the *Shākumree Mahátim* and *Kedárkund*; for this indeed was evidently the site of the original sanctuary. Ram Jee Das communicated the discovery to the Rajpoot Rana Bahader Singh, soliciting the funds necessary for the restoration of the temple. He also applied to his clients at Saharunpore, Jugāndree and other places. A handsome subscription was collected, and the work commenced. Amid the heap of crumbling masonry, two mutilated images were found, and the pundit grieved since a mutilated idol cannot be worshipped. He passed the night there sorrowing, and had a second vision. Two young girls stood beside him saying, "do not lament, two stones are lying in the ravine; they bear marks of imagery; take and set them up as *Shākumree* and *Sutákshee Deveen*." He obeyed the divine command, and after duly performing his devotions before the idols, returned home.

Convinced of the reality of these successive revelations, he directed each of his patients to lay aside offerings (cocoanuts, &c.), for the goddess; their speedy recovery would, he promised, follow. They carried out his instructions and were cured. The fame of the miracle spreading abroad, worshippers† of the double Deveen congregated in multitudes. A fair, beginning on the tenth day after the rise of the new moon in Asouj and lasting till the second of the dark half of Kátuk, was gradually instituted. The pilgrims number from 15,000 to 20,000 or 30,000. Some come even from Muttra.† Nine-sixteenths of the offerings go to Rana Petum-

* Said on this occasion to have Shunker Purvut.
also founded Shunkulapooree, two † They come from the Doon, Um-
koss north of Saharunpore. The bála, Meerut, Delhi, Muttra, Fur-
hill behind the temple is called rukhábad, Murádabád.

ber Singh, Bahader Singh's representative, one-fourth to Jouálá Pundá, Ram Jee Das's great great grandson, and the remainder to a Goojur, the descendant of the cowherd who assisted Ram Jee Das in his search. The Mahrattas granted Nágul rent-free, to defray the incidental expenses of the establishment.

The local worship of Devee has never, within the memory of man, been sullied by those barbarous rites which were lately current in Lower Bengal and still linger in many parts of that province, unless the Muhammadan legend of the idolater Rájá Kurn, who used to cut off his flesh and sacrifice it to a demon,* be received in evidence of the contrary. At all events, the influence of Islám cannot be denied to have had a humanizing effect upon the ritual of Northern India.

A striking object stands opposite the temple of Shákumree Devee—a lingam about six feet high, bearing a representation of Mahadev. The god's features are mild and placid, like those of an Egyptian Deity, sculptured with a degree of skill unique in these regions. The rapt expression of the countenance and the long pendulous ears are of the Budhistic type, yet the idol is pronounced to be Brahminical. This specimen of forgotten art was rescued † from the bottom of a ravine under the temple of Suhesrah Thâkur, two or three miles east of Shákumree.

Suhesrah Thâkur.—This sanctuary commands the head of a chasm (the Bán Gunga) running parallel with the Suhesrah Pass. A narrow pathway, traversing the ridge to the left as one faces the Dhoon, connects the two. A large heap of stones marks the entrance to the track. Successive pilgrims have accumulated the pile. Every man deposits a large stone in token of his visit ; every woman, a small one ; every child, one still smaller. The long bhábur grass on either side is twisted into a complication of knots, for if the devotee fail to tie one such knot, his pilgrimage is fruitless.

The situation of the temple is charming. It rises from the bosom of an amphitheatre of lofty hills fringed with luxuriant vegetation, shelving rapidly into the Bán Gunga. In Brahminical topography the western hill is Káka Chul ; the eastern, Deva Chul, where gapes a hole, once the retreat of Gautum after the detection of his wife's lewdness.‡ The building itself is not in keeping with the beauty of the site. It is built from the remains

* Such a sacrifice was considered most acceptable to Kalee.

† By Mádhó Das, a half-crazed Bairágee fakeer. He had watched it lying there for twelve whole years, till Sirdar Runjore Singh visited Suhusra Thâkur in 1851 and had it taken out, at his request. It

is strange that such a fine image should have been so long neglected in a place frequented by numerous worshippers.

‡ In later years, the less celebrated Madho Dás lived there. It was during his residence in the Himalayas, that Gautum founded the Nyáyuk sect.

of more ancient and architectural structures, relics* of which are scattered around, and cannot be many hundred years old, as the present Mohunt is only the fifteenth, though its materials are those of an edifice constructed by the gods in the Sutyá Yug!

The spot is very holy. Here Rama's grandfather was tending cattle, when the cow Nundnee prophesied the incarnation of Vishnu in the person of Rám Chunder. Hence went Gautum Rishiee and announced the fulfilment of the prediction to Rámá. Hither came Rájás Bhurt and Sutrooghun to see the place where their grandfather had tended cattle, and took up their abode in it as ascetics. Rámá deputed all the gods and Rishies to persuade his brothers to return, but so pleased were they, that they also remained. The divine beings hollowed out a basin in the sandstone rock beneath, for the due performance of their ablutions. It is called the *Suhesrah Dhâr*. Its waters purified Indra from the effects of Gautum's curse and the hundred years famine ceased in consequence.

When the reign of orthodoxy was interrupted and the Dark Age commenced, Budh (*Kalee Ghun*) "enchanted† Sursutee, put "her into a pot, and arguing with the Brahmans, led them "astray." Whoever heard him, accepted his tenets. He converted all from the mountains to the plains, from East to West. The idols of the gods were smashed, and images of Pârisnauth placed in their stead. The revival was long coming. Fifteen hundred years ago, in the reign of Dhurm Pâl, when the quadrangular coinage was current, and the *granth* and books on medicine were composed, Shunker Acharj preached ritualism, the destruction of the new temples and the restoration of the old. During the period of religious reaction, the worship of Suhesrah Thákur was revived next to that of Shakumree Deveen.

Again the Muhammadan conquest swept away the Thákur's cult, but in time a pious Jogee coming to the ruined Thákurdwâra setting up a hundred-armed (*suhesra bhoojee râp*) idol, worshipped it. Now Huree Dâs, a Bairagee of Bindrabun, chanced to visit him. The stranger, being a great pundit, consulted various authorities, and pronounced the image to be an effigy of Sutrooghun, not of Deveen, as the Jogee thought. They argued the point earnestly, without being able to convince one another. Finally, the question was referred to the arbitration of another pundit, who decided in favour of the Bairâgee. A second idol discovered there, turned out to be that of Bhurt. Huree Dâs thus ousted the Yogee,

* e.g. blocks of sandstones all chiselled, many skilfully carved, punched with holes for the reception of iron

clamps which bound them together.
† Or "appeased by penance."

and from him proceeded a line of Mohunts, adherents of the Vishnuvee sect.*

No systematic worship of the Jumna appears to exist nearer than Delhi. This relieves me of the task of explaining her place in the Hindoo theogony.

Although the Saharunpore mythology is rich, the doctrinal ideas of the common people do not extend far beyond a vague belief in the existence of a supreme Deity (*Purmeshwur*) and a sense of obligation to visit Shâkumree Devee or Hurdwâr, once in their lives. Saints occasionally monopolise attention.

Pyârâ Jee is the favourite of one section of the population. His temple is at Rundewah, the parent (*theeka*) village of the Dâpah Goojurs, equi-distant from Nukoor and Umbelhtuh. His grandfather, Râm Jee Pudârut, born (1545 S.) at Durgunpoor, pergunnah Burhânuh, Zillah Mozuffernuggur, disappeared immediately after birth. The consternation of the infant's father, Sâjun, Bâdhfurosh, was, as may be imagined, great. In six days, however, he mysteriously reappeared, and his mother made a sacrifice to the gods by way of thanksgiving. The subject of this extraordinary phenomenon, not exhibiting signs of any remarkable precocity, was afterwards commissioned to watch cattle. One day his herd straying into a sugar-cane field, destroyed the crops, according to the statement of the owner, a Rajpoot, who lost no time about lodging a complaint against the offender. An official, deputed to make a local enquiry and estimate the amount of damage done, reported that the crop was intact. Recollecting the antecedents of Râm Jee Pudârut, every one cried a miracle—a miracle! The lad, believing in his own supernatural powers, gained over many disciples. Nor did he neglect worldly considerations. He took unto himself a wife from the family of Bâwanee Dâs, Bâdhfurosh of Khoodee-Shikârpore. The fruit of their union was Rugnauth, who married a lady of Sârun. The fame of *Pyârâ Jee*, his son, reached Sreenuggur, and the Gurhwal Râjâ gave him five villages.

About the same time, there was a feud between the Goojurs and Brahmans of Sudderpore, and the former, having invited the obnoxious Levites to a feast, massacred them during the entertainment, (temp. Akber). The murdered men revenged themselves in the form of vampires, *rakshusas*, leaving their enemies no peace. The predicament of the Goojurs was so serious, that Birâl Dâpeh, hearing of *Pyârâ Jee*'s reputation, besought him to take Sudderpore under his protection. The saint at once said the village had been his in a former birth. The discovery of a well dug

* The Mahrattas assigned Deen-râpoora, pergunnah Hurowrah near Gungulheree, to the support of the Thâkur dwârâ, rent-free; Mr. Moore, Collector of Saharunpore, resumed it.

by him proved the correctness of the assertion to everyone's satisfaction. He then willingly returned to claim his property, and expelled the demons. The prosperity of Sudderpore straightway returned. Its name was consequently changed to Undeva (*Un—* grain ; *deva*—giver, from its abundance ;) of which *Rundeva* is a corruption. Pyârâ Jee died there. Prayers are repeated and offerings made before his cenotaph. His son, Lâl Jee, having no male issue, bequeathed everything to his wife. Jâdâ, Bairagee, managed her affairs as *Mohunt*, and the zemindars elected one of his *chelas*, Hur Gobind, to succeed him. Ever since, the appointment has been in the hands of Bâdhfuroshes descended from Madāree, brother of Pyârâ Jee, and of the brothers of his son's widow. They own one-third of the village, the *Mohunts*, two-thirds. The saint's followers are Vishnuvites and wear black necklaces. His holiday is the 6th of the dark half of Cheyt.

Devee Poolumdeh.—Another Goojur shrine is at Bilâspore, south-east of Luknaotee, south-west of Gungoh. A fair is held there in Asâr. People from Mozuffernuggur, Umballa, and Kurnaul, attend. A large crowd never collects. Pilgrims keep dropping in all through the month. Their numbers are greater towards the end of the fair. Whether the being adored is considered a saint or an incarnation, seems doubtful. Three hundred years ago, Oomra, Goojur, a zemindar of Bilâspore, suddenly took to shaking his head about and exclaiming—"I am "Devee Poolumdeh—erect a temple to me—Ruttee Brahman will "be my priest—he and his descendants are to receive all offerings "made to me." The inspired voice was obeyed without question. About half a century ago, Sahiboo Mull, a pious mahajun of Bidowlee (zillah Mozuffernuggur) built a well near the temple for the convenience of worshippers.

Googa Peer is universally popular. He was King of Bheekaneer and, owing to some family quarrel, waged war against his brethren, among whom was Prithiraj of Delhi. He vanquished them with the assistance of Rutten Hâjee, whose Hindoo name and Muhammadan soubriquet denote the convert. The Hâjee gave Googa an enchanted javelin, which shot hither and thither through the air of itself, smiting its owner's enemies. The diabolical instrument ensured the saint a victory. Prithiraj lost his life in the fratricidal contest, and Googa had himself buried alive through remorse.

This story shows the extent to which Muhammadan influences have affected the creed of the lower orders. The Chouhan hero, the valiant opponent of the invaders, himself plays the part of a Moslem rather than a Hindoo saint. Yet his standard bearers may often be seen resting on their way to the Gogâhul fair, in Gooroo Ram Rae's Thakurdwârâ at Dehra, a place odious

to the faithful. Notwithstanding the failures of our own missionaries, the mind of the commonalty contains a strong element of receptivity. Most nonconformists, therefore, admit the claims of Muhammadan peers to saintship, but Googas are of a very indefinite nature.

In the month of Bhādon, his most appropriate devotees, Bhungees, come parading from all directions to celebrate the mongrel saint's holiday at Manukmow, a suburb of Saharunpore, carrying standards symbolic of the enchanted spear, and soliciting subscriptions. Agurwāl Bunees are their chief patrons.* On the tenth day of the new moon, the standards are raised and the festival commences; it lasts two days; the attendance is large. Its origin is recent. In the reign of Mahommed Shāh, Kumlee Chumār used to fish in a neighbouring tank, from which he received some sort of a sign from heaven, together with a standard which he set up in honor of the peer. The rest of his family followed his example. At first there were only nine, now there are no fewer than twenty-four standards. Hindoos and Muhammadans alike join in the festivities.

Bābā Káloo, is another mongrel. His worship is peculiar to such low-caste men as Chumārs, Kahārs, Kumhārs, Sainees, Guderyas and Mehrahs. Jāts are also said to revere him. His history sounds very like an elaborate joke.

The fairies were wafting Solomon through the air, upon his throne. The monarch, looking down, chanced to see a young Kahār girl heaping up manure on a dunghill. The sight disgusted him so much that he affected to stop his nose and exclaimed, "who in the world could marry such a dirty ugly little girl"! Soon after, however, desiring to take a bath he had his throne laid down by the edge of a stream. He undressed and inadvertently left his magic ring near his clothes on the bank. Scarcely had he plunged in, than a fish, jumping out of the water, swallowed the talisman. The fairies at once flew away with the throne, for the charm of the ring was broken. The king remained shivering behind in great distress. He eventually made a virtue of necessity and took refuge in an adjacent village, where he was hospitably received in the house of the very girl he had seen gathering dung. One day, the maiden's mother remarked to her husband, "you should marry our daughter to a man like our guest." This she repeated thrice. The mystical number worked, and Solomon said, "marry her to me, for you have spoken three times." The marriage was accordingly celebrated, and consummated, the young couple living in a separate abode. Some time after the king's father-in-law went to drag the river with a net; and catching, among others, the fish that had swallowed the

*Elliott's Glossary, p. 401.

magic ring, carried home his prize. The fish being a large one his wife told him to give it to her daughter and keep the rest. When the girl cut it open, she discovered the ring, and gave the ornament to her husband, saying "'tis a beautiful thing and worthy of you." When their evening meal was over, the king put the talisman on his finger, the fairies appeared bringing in the throne, he seated himself upon it, and vanished never to return. His disconsolate wife was pregnant and in due course brought forth a child—Bābā Kāloo. A stick decorated with peacock's feathers represents the holy personage.* To this fetich trifling offerings are made.

Many other such superstitions, not to speak of ghost and demon-worship, prevail. They prove Hinduism proper to be a mere name. Brahmanism is something quite above the comprehension of the masses, whose degraded religious condition presents only one hopeful aspect. The greatest obstacle to the propagation of a true faith is a creed which, though false, still seems to meet the wants satisfied by one more pure. But the paganism I have just described, barely rises above the level of fetichism; it is then hard to understand why the mind of the nominal Hindoo should be invincibly prejudiced against the reception of a higher form of religion, and, as a matter of fact, Muhammadanism has been extensively accepted.

The Suraogies or Jain Muth. The last relic of Buddhism is the sect of the Suraogies. I have not been able to ascertain much about their tenets. They are either reticent or vague on the subject. Their fundamental article of faith is expressed in the duty of adoring Pârisnauth. Number, wealth and cohesion constitute these sectarians a most powerful section of the community. All are enterprising traders and they boast the richest men in the district.† Their temples are numerous and continually increasing. The opening of a new one occasions a grand gala-day. Processions of ten thousand people solemnly instal the Idol. In 1845 it was considered prudent to guard one of these demonstrations at Saharunpore with a military force.

In 1856 the local police were equal to the occasion, but a collision between the detested Jain Muth and the populace was seriously apprehended. In March 1865, from 12,000 to 15,000 of these religionists assembled at Deobund, to consecrate a temple. Notwithstanding an immense display of ornaments ‡ on the part of the women, the absence of crime was conspicuous, and the

* His temple is somewhere in the Punjab.

† e.g., Baroomul Soogund Chund, and Paris Das, bankers of great local celebrity.

‡ Estimated by Mr. Jos. Morgan, D. C., at Rs. 300,000. Some of them were literally loaded from head to foot, and seemed to wince under the weight of their adornments.

inhabitants of the town were far from showing signs of antagonism. The mercantile classes hung gaudy-coloured drapery over the frontage of their shops, and presented *sherbet* to the promenaders marching past. A community of professional interests most probably prompted these courtesies.*

The Hurdwar Brahmans, if questioned about the Jain Muth, drone out an incomprehensible fable. Tripur the giant (Asur) grievously persecuted the Gods. They, manifesting their glory, had recourse to Brahma, who said, "Go, petition Shiv Jee, he will help you. Tripur has obtained power through me; it is not meet that I should slay him." The gods accordingly applied to Mahadev. He also excused himself on the plea of Tripur's great charity (or righteousness) and bade them explain their grievances to Vishnu. When the latter heard their story, he observed: "Verily, this is a true saying, where religion (or virtue) is, there can be no sorrow (or pain)." The aphorism gave the deities little consolation, and they asked what they were to do to avoid perishing before their time.† Receiving no answer, they remained obstinately seated, determined to extort a favourable reply. Compelled to act, Vishnu, deliberating within himself, ultimately hit upon a way out of the difficulty. He produced an eidolon (Mâyá) in the likeness of a man, designed to destroy religion. The phantom's head was shorn, its garments were foul, and it held a napkin to its mouth.‡ The figure standing with clasped hands before Huree, said, "Call me an Arpantpûj" (i.e., a follower of Budh), "and tell me what my business is." Vishnu answered, "Hear why I have created thee. I have composed a Mâyâshastr to delude Tripur. The book contradicts the *Sruttee* and the *Sruritte*,§ the doctrine of the four castes and of the four religious orders.|| "Read the work, teach its tenets to thy disciples and disseminate them over the face of the earth."

Bhugwan created four Apostles of the new religion and taught them the apocrypha. They in turn were directed to instruct Tripur, and settle at Mârwâr, whence the principles of the false criptures would be widely propagated. The Titan fell into the snare, and Shiv slew him.

Under the glorious rule of the Surujbunsies and Chunderbunsies, Buddhism was suppressed, but in the reign of Mahanund of

* Another motive for politeness may have been fear. The Suraogies are regarded with a degree of respect quite disproportioned to their number. Many of them (e.g., a colony at Sultanpore) are Agurwal buncieas.

† Or "without a deluge."

‡ The orthodox Suraogie considers

it an offence to swallow even a fly by accident.

§ i.e., The body of the law handed down by tradition. "The heard and remembered."

|| Brihmachāree, Grihust, Vānaprasth and Sumyussee (or Bhiksu).

Canj, in the Kulow Yug or Dark Age, the heretics multiplied. The Brahmans were driven from the towns into the villages ; only here and there, at a few particularly holy places, the priesthood received the homage due to them. The incarnation of Budrpâdjee, Svâm-Kârtic's son, gave the first blow to Buddhism. He did much towards re-introducing time-honoured rites and ceremonies. Brahma too became incarnate in the person of Mundun Misr, Budrpâdjee's disciple, and won over a multitude of converts. Finally, Shiv Jee entered into the body of Shunker Acharj, and Vishnu into that of Pudmpâd. The one preached the Gyânkând, the other the Upâsnâkând.

The re-establishment of the priesthood in the Punchpooree towards the close of the fourth century A.D., completed the Brahminical revival. Shunker Acharj's royal patron is variously called Soodunwâ and Dhurmpâl. The Gusâens, Nirunjunies—or "men void of passion"—are his modern representatives. Their body corporate contains ten subdivisions ; Tirth, Asram, Arun, Bun, Giree, Purvut, Sagur, Sursutee, Bharthee and Puree.

Some one better versed in the Hindoo scriptures than I, must attempt the interpretation of the myth of the Máyá Shástr ; and try to explain the anomaly of making the giant Tripur—the inveterate enemy of the gods, use religion (*dhurm*) as a weapon for their persecution ; or trace the connection between the birth of Buddhism and the war with the Titans.

The conclusion of the fable summarily lands us from the chaos of mythology upon the *terra firma* of authentic history, and emboldens me to offer some observations with reference to the alleged antiquity of Brahminism proper in Northern India. I am prone to discredit it altogether.

The history of the world does not afford a single example of a religion almost utterly abolished from the face of a vast continent and restored intact after the lapse of many hundred years, in opposition to another which had meanwhile supplanted it. Yet this is the paradox, maintained by the Hindoo Levites. Were they to give a plausible and consistent explanation of the anomaly, their statements might carry weight, but far from doing so, they envelope the period antecedent to Shunker Acharj's advent in a cloud of fables, the methodical obscurity of which indicates design. Then the so-called reformer comes, and instantly the cloud breaks. The inquirer finds himself face to face with an historical fact. Of this the date of his mission assures us. "Fifteen hundred years ago," refers one to no very distant age, but attempt to look beyond that point, and darkness impedes the view. Any conclusion drawn from such evidence must be an "opinion," not the end of a chain of reasoning. Mine is based upon the only rational interpretation of which a "galimatias"

assumed to contain a germ of truth, is susceptible ; the revival is a fiction ; the change effected, instead of being a return to, was the corruption of an old faith. Every creed is subject to this transition. I admit a constant tendency towards Brahmanism from the very beginning, owing to the ritualistic instincts of humanity in every age and country ; I allow the religion a long infancy, but deny that it arrived at maturity until the end of the fourth century or later.

Among other reforms credited to the Achārj, was the re-organisation of the four castes defined by Menu. Now, so precise a division of the population, if it ever existed at all, could only have been a temporary arrangement, maintained under such conditions as keep our own race distinct from the people of the country at the present day, and distinctions once confounded could never again have been clearly recognised. The Brahmans themselves are loth to acknowledge any pure Khshatryas. Nevertheless, Shunker Achārj, they allege, renewed Menu's institutions in their integrity. This revival of an obsolete state of society is as fictitious as the resuscitation of a defunct religion. The one was impossible after the spurious reformation ; the other, before that event. Shunker Achārj, like other Brahmans, *preached* caste ; what he really *did*, was to frame a rubric more congenial to the anthropomorphic tastes of mankind than a purely metaphysical system.

Besides Shunker Achārj, several distinguished preceptors taught at Hurdwār ; Poit'heenusee who maintained God to be visible, Yugmiparshma, who held the contrary, Devulu, whose principal doctrine was the efficacy of good works, * and others of less note.

The similarity between the name of Gautama the founder of Misrpoor, and of Gautama (Shákya) the seventh Budha ; of Kaupileh, Shákya's birthplace, and Kaupileh, applied to the Ganges generally, † more especially to that part of the river running through the Máyápooree Kshetr, is striking, if taken in connection with the myth about the attempt of the serpents (Nágás) to drag Gunga down to hell and her propitiation of them, a story obviously originating in some remembrance of Budhistic ascendancy.

* v. Ward ii. p., 4489.

† v. Timour's Memoirs of Jour. As. Soc., vol. vi. part I, p. 63, (Chinese account of India by Matwanlin.) "The river Hang or Gang, which some call Keapihle." The city of Kapila or Kapilavastu, Shákya's birthplace, must have been somewhere near the Gunduk, 1480 li, or about 250 miles, north of Benares,

but the kingdom of Kapilovastu may well have once extended to the upper course of the Ganges. In Hiouen Thsang's time, it had a circuit of nearly 700 miles (v. Mémoires de Hiouen Thsang, vol. ii., p. 309). Might not an enquiry in the direction of Máyákot near the Barigar serve to elucidate the question of the site of Kapila ?

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The Nágás are the Takshac or Scythian race, and it is also remarkable that the Suttée of Máya Devec—Shákya's mother—should commence the series of fables, composing the mythology of Hurdwâr. I can only point out these coincidences. The better-informed reader will judge how far they warrant the inference that the simple element worship of the Brimh Kund may have been affected by Budhistic influences.

G. R. C. WILLIAMS, B.A., C.S.

ART. II.—WORDS AND PLACES.

Words and Places : or Etymological Illustrations of History, Ethnology, and Geography. By the Rev. Isaac Taylor. Third Edition, Macmillan and Co.

WHEN the small volume, now under review, originally appeared, it was remarked in the *Saturday Review* that it was a work which stood alone in our language ; that there was "no other work resembling it in any degree either in fulness of detail, or method of treatment. The subject is one, acknowledged to be of the highest importance, as a handmaid to history, ethnology, geography, and even to geology ; it affords wonderful peeps into the past life and wanderings of the human race." During the year 1873, a third edition has appeared, revised and compressed ; and the price has been so reduced as to come within the means of the ordinary student, as a class-book and a book of reference.

As on such a subject it is safest to argue from the known to the unknown, the author has wisely commenced by dilating on the origin of names of places in the New World, the language, history, and origin of which can be identified beyond doubt, as being the creatures of yesterday.—A marvellous tale is unfolded even within that short period, and a clue is, as it were, given to the principles, the tendencies, the affections, the weaknesses, and the unintelligible errors, that have directed and accompanied the nomenclature of that new hemisphere which was unknown and unnamed in the time of the Plantagenets. Our chief object in bringing the subject before the readers of this *Review* is to induce some one to apply the process, which has been so fully worked out by our author as regards America and Europe, to Asia, and more especially to British India.

How much do those whose career in India is over, for whom that wonderful country is enveloped with the romance of the Past and the Unforgotten, regret that in the course of the quarter of a century, during which they were hurrying hither and thither, and engaged from morn to eve in work which has left little or no trace behind, wish that they had found leisure to store up in common-place books all that came under their observation regarding the ethnology and language and religion and other kindred subjects, of India ! The most casual observer and the shortest visitor must have been struck by the multiplicity and strangeness of the names of places in India ; but, until this book had

appeared, there was no model on which the information collected could be arranged, and it may not have occurred to many to reflect what a vast store of ethnical and philological information lies hidden under the uncouth and unintelligible sounds by which, according to the common consent of the inhabitants, the physical features and the local divisions of province, department, town, village, and hamlet, are known.

And yet it has been thoroughly admitted and acknowledged from the earliest times, that names were not originally given at hap-hazard, that they were not fortuitous concurrences of syllables; on the contrary, we find in the earliest records that have come down to us, an attempt to assign rightly or wrongly a meaning to particular nomenclature, and to account for not obvious names. Poetry and fiction, myth and tradition, were called upon for assistance. Thus in Genesis the name of "Bethel" is explained by the story of Jacob's Ladder, though the obvious meaning of the word was not hard to divine; and the Sanskrit poets delight to account for names, even for such a simple one as "Gangá," by a fanciful legend; nor were the more fastidious tastes of Virgil and Horace free from the infection, for while the former connects in most beautiful lines the name of Caieta—the modern Gaiëta—with the imaginary Nurse of Æneas, the latter has immortalised the tale of Europa, and surrounded with a halo of semi-truth the legend

"Tua sectus orbis
Nomina ducet."

In most of the Reports of the Settlements of Land-Revenue in Upper India, an attempt was made to explain the meanings of the names of places, political divisions, and physical features; and with some success, for in truth the meaning of a large proportion of such names is obvious. A few were explained by scholars, a few more by fanciful stories or traditions of the country-side; but a considerable residuum remained, words which had in course of ages lost their initial and final letters, been inverted, or transposed, whose consonants had in the life of men been unconsciously changed by the action of Grimm's law; whose vowels had been absorbed, or altered by laws of accentuation which have not yet been fairly worked out. Yet, if once a sufficiency of facts were collected; if the character of neighbouring names were collated and contrasted; if the recurrence of similar names in whole, or part, in other parts of the country, and in other combinations, were duly weighed; no doubt the number of unexplained sounds might be largely reduced. This work commends itself to an ingenious and order-loving intellect, even if the elaborated result went no further than to explain the

phenomena of the names existing; but to any one who has studied Mr. Taylor's book, and who has entered on the subject with the zeal and penetration which it deserves, it will soon appear how very much lies beyond. The dry bones in the cabinet of the geologist may appear to the unlearned to be nothing but orderly arranged fossils; but to the initiated they are clothed with flesh, and from them he is able to conjure back past periods of the World which have left no other trace. So to the scientific philologist the names of places, which have lived from century to century on the lips of men, if rightly arranged, and rightly interpreted, cannot fail to disclose strange ethnological and political facts which were unwittingly entrusted to their keeping; and tribes, which have long since been extirpated out of the land, have left behind them traces more enduring than their hill fastnesses, more deeply incised on the face of the country than their deep dykes, and more enduring than their coins. The pre-historic animals, slowly traversing the soft sands, left marks of their feet impressed on a surface, which has since hardened into rock, and which tells of the existence of animal life with a force beyond the reach of argument to gainsay; and in like manner, savage and migrating tribes in the early annals of mankind placed their phonetic impress on certain spots in their own peculiar combination of syllables, which have been severally adopted by the more civilised races which have succeeded to their inheritance.

This fact is most fully exemplified in North America, and if ever there had been an opportunity for making a clean sweep of the Past and commencing afresh on a *tabula rasa*, it was when the Western colonists landed in the New World. In the fulness of their civilisation, the heirs of all the ages, and the dispensers at pleasure of the treasury of names of ancient and modern Europe, the British colonists have founded a new Jerusalem, a new Rome, a new Tyre, and a new Troy; but they have been no more able to oust the indigenous names of mountain and stream from their lists of names, than they have been able to banish the black and red skin from their streets. Thus, side by side on their maps with the most celebrated names of Europe and Asia, whose composition can be traced back to illustrious Indo-European pedigrees, we have the Niagara, the Potomac, the Ottawa, the Rappakannok, the Susquehanna, and Arkansas, Wisconsin, and Michigan, which smack of the back-woods and hunting-grounds, and of a vocabulary and dialect, as far removed from the great Aryan family as the Chinese.

And more than this: we have, as it were, come upon the settling of the composite materials of American nomenclature while in solution, and, in the freshness of contemporary

knowledge, can assign with certainty the different elements to their proper origin, and, as it were, confirm the truth of the well-known colonization of the country by referring to the names of the locations, or, reversing the process, make the heterogeneous nomenclature intelligible by applying the unquestioned facts of history to it. This is the exceeding value of the American exemplar, for it raises a mere theory, or hypothesis, to the rank of a scientific process, and encourages us to place the name-lists of another world—for India is, indeed, a world of its own—in the crucible, in the certainty of obtaining results equally satisfactory. But in dealing with the remote periods of Indian civilisation we can only use one process; we have the names, and from them must evolve by careful linguistic discrimination historical facts, and re-unite lost pages of a Nation's Annals.

We can safely arrive at this conclusion, that there are certain natural laws, which underlie the structure of human society, and the effects of which will surely crop out and leave traces, as being based on the simple and indigenous tendencies of mankind, on the general fitness of things, and the pressing necessities of rough life which have led and will ever lead new colonizers over the same tract. Thus, in fixing the name, which is done on the spur of the moment, of a tract, or of a township, or of a hamlet, or the separated portion of a village, reference will be had, first, to the rising and setting sun, the points of the compass, the upland and lowland, the river and mountain, the marsh and lake, the forest and desert, the wild animals of earth, air, or water; second, to the name of the tribe, the great men of the tribe, the tutelary deity of the tribe; third, to War, Peace, Plague, Famine, Death, the Temple, or the Place of Sepulture, or Cremation, and other events of local interest, which, as time passes and civilisation increases, will multiply.

Few settlements drop down on an entirely virgin soil: on the early settlement of Abraham in Canaan he found two layers of previous occupiers of the soil. Those who are unacquainted with Asia, can form no conception of the desolation and extirpation caused by Famine, War, Invasion; the new comers are usually unable to efface the footprints of their predecessors; some wretched hewers of wood and drawers of water—abject and servile survivors of the massacre, or the expulsion—remain, and they have their revenge in keeping alive the nomenclature of their forefathers. Wave after wave of population has swept over India from the great portal of the North-West; the proud Brahman—the Hindu of the Hindus—is as much an alien, and an immigrant, as the most modern swarm of needy Muhammadans; but Time has given a sanctity to his occupation, and his predecessors and victims,

the numerous non-Aryan races have perished from the page of history and have for centuries been forgotten.

Few newcomers have been bold enough to supersede existing names; at the best they have but added an alternative name, which has sometimes overridden, and sometimes succumbed to the old one. Thus Dehli and Agra have outlived Sháhjihánábád, and Akbarábád, but Prág has succumbed to Allahabád. In Holy Writ, Ephratah is often coupled with Bethlehem, and Hebron is particularised as Kirjalt Arba; and here a remark of our author's is most apposite. "In many instances the original import of such names has faded away, or has become disguised in the lapse of ages; nevertheless the primeval meaning may be recoverable, and whenever it is recovered we have gained a symbol that may prove itself to be full-fraught with instruction; for it may indicate emigrations, immigrations, the commingling of races by war and conquest, or by the peaceful processes of commerce; the name of a district or a town may speak to us of events which written history has failed to commemorate." And again "There are many nations which have left no written records, and whose history would be a blank volume, or nearly so, were it not that, in the places where they have sojourned, they have left traces of their migration sufficient to enable us to re-construct the main outline of their history. The hills, valleys and rivers are in fact the only writing tablets on which unlettered nations have been able to inscribe their annals. Mountains and rivers still murmur the voices of nations long denationalized or extirpated."

Mr. Taylor's work is divided into seventeen chapters; and prefixed to it is a map of the British Isles, showing by colours the proportion of settlements of Kelts, Saxons, Danes, and Norwegians, as arrived at by a careful analysis of the names of the locations. Appended to the volume is a list of some of the chief substantial components of local names, and two excellent indices, one of local names, the other of matters, without which the value of a work of this character would be greatly diminished. We propose now cursorily to survey these chapters, and on arriving at the last on "onomotology" to enter fully into Mr. Taylor's method and apply it to British India.

The first chapter is on the significancy of names, and is an exordium to the work. It is justly remarked that—"what has been affirmed by the botanist as to the floras of limited districts may be said, with little abatement, concerning local names, that they survive the catastrophes which overthrow empires, and that they outlive devastations which are fatal to almost everything else. Invading hosts may trample down or extirpate whatever grows upon a soil, except its wild flowers

"and the names of those sites where man has found a home." How true is this! How often in the jungle, ruined wells and forsaken homesteads are come upon, which have a name and nothing else: how faithfully a name clings to a township, or a valley, or a countryside, when the origin of the name has long since been forgotten!

The usual origin of names is derived either from the physical features, or the historical associations of the locality, and in the course of ages, changes may have been wrought in both particulars, and the name, rightly interpreted, lets in a flood of light. How comes it, for instance, that one of the most northern counties in Scotland is called "Sutherland," but that it was so named as a dependency of Norway? How comes a portion of Kent and Sussex to be called "the Weald," but that it was once covered by a thick and impenetrable forest?

The second Chapter goes fully over what may be called the Tertiary Period, namely, that portion of the subject which falls entirely within historic times, such as the settlement of America and Australia. The Secondary Period may be said to comprise the strata of names which are capable of solution by reference to well-known languages, and to the Primary must be relegated that portion of the name-list of a country, which belongs to the dim twilight period of the settlement of the earlier races. It will be found that this division of the subject will be readily applicable to any new country, to which the inquiry may be extended, for it may at once be stated, that but a corner of the vast area, to which inquiry extends, has been occupied. It is not pretended that, as regards any country, except the British Isles, more than a general survey is attempted: if, indeed, information has been statistically arranged in France and Germany, what of the rest of Europe, of Africa, and of Asia, the last two continents in their entirety? But on the other hand it may be safely contended, that such a forecast of the subject has been made, as will greatly facilitate the labour of those who follow, and such principles have been laid down, as will tend to prevent future labours in the same field from being haphazard, erroneous, and fruitless.

Chapter III treats of the ethnological value of local names, and applies the method of research, illustrated and tested in Chapter II as regards the modern names of America to the more obscure periods of history in the older continent of Europe, and Chapter IV treats exhaustively of the primely important branch of the subject—"the names of nations." The value of this one chapter can scarcely be overstated, and its perusal will at once tempt the reader to go deeper into the subject by opening out new vistas of thought, ranging in order,

scattered information, long since possessed, but not appreciated, and convincing most unmistakably of the importance of the subject.

Chapters V, VI, VII, VIII, IX treat in succession of the different races, or nationalities, which have left their mark on the name-lists of Western Europe, to which geographical expression the subject is now narrowed. First, in order came the Phœnicians, then the Arabs, both being aliens from another continent. The subject seems thenceforth to shrink into still narrower territorial limits, and to restrict itself to the regions occupied at different periods of their history by Anglo-Saxons, Northmen of all kinds, and, at the dawn of historical knowledge, by the Kelts. No doubt it was of importance, or even of necessity, to narrow the subject, but it indicates by the exclusion of the Græco-Latin, Slavonic and Seltish races, how large a portion of even the Indo-Germanic or Aryan family is left unaccounted for.

Chapter X which is headed "The historic value of local names" does, indeed, give all that can be collected of the period of Roman occupation, and of the marks, which that great conquering, but not colonizing, people left upon subject countries. The Norman passed lightly over the ground, and left traces only in castles and abbeys and military or civil stations; the Saxons colonized in the proper sense by the extirpation, or entire subjection, of the Kelts; the Romans did in their times very much what the Normans did at a later period, and what the English now do in India. It may be a matter of sentimental regret, that in our haughty and supercilious disdain for the people, and carelessness for our own reputation we have never introduced any of the imperial terms into the plastic Urdu, such as road, castle, bridge, railway, telegraph, king or queen. The Romans were wiser or more fortunate in their generation, and have left the words *Strata*, *Castra*, *Cæsar*, *Pons*, *Hospitum*, *Colonia*, *Portus*, and others as legacies to all time and all nations, but no place of human habitation bears a Roman name.

Chapter XI treats exclusively of the street names of London, which, however curious and interesting to the local archæologist, are deficient in interest to the cosmopolitan reader. This is more than compensated for by the intense interest of Chapters XII and XIII, which treat of historic and sacred sites, and, as far as they go, bring out an abundance of very interesting facts, although they obviously only go over a small portion of the ground which might be traversed, for many a name now unintelligible records some forgotten event, or some deserted shrine.

Chapter XIV opens out a still more surprising view of the subject, for it shows how the physical changes of the globe are attested by local names. The sea has retired in some places,

rivers have ceased to be navigable ; a town which was once a naval station, and a commercial port, is, perhaps, some distance inland ; marshes have been dried up, or perhaps have extended themselves ; in some rare instances mountains have sprung up, or have subsided ; climatic changes have altered the products, or the fauna and flora of a country, and the names of the places when scientifically analysed, testify to a state of physical affairs which is no longer applicable.

Reserving Chapter XV, we now pass to Chapter XVI, which in an exhaustive manner shows what words are derived from places ; "All local names," our author says, "were once words ; we have made these words, so long dumb, once more speak out their meaning, and declare the lessons which they have to teach. We now come to the converse proposition. *Many words were once local names* ; we find these words in all the stages of the process of metamorphosis—some unchanged—some so altered as to be scarcely recognizable." It is possible that there may be words in the vernacular, or dead languages of India, which, if properly examined, may give up an origin of this kind, in addition to those which have become notorious, and have found their way into European languages. Of these we select some familiar instances as illustrations. The word "nektarine" is most conclusively traced back to the superlative of the word "nek" or good, being the best of "peaches." The "peach" itself is from the Latin "Persicus" being a Persian fruit. The "damson" hails from Damascus, as well as the "Damask Rose." The "tamarind" is clearly "the fruit of India." Indigo, gamboge, calico, Cashmere are too obvious to be more than alluded to. In this chapter we have the whole subject discussed at very great length, but it is foreign to the main object of the volume under review.

Chapters XV and XVII go over the ground of the greatest interest to future investigators, for in the first the "changes and errors" are detailed, which have come to light in past times, and in the second, the principles, and method, of Scientific Onomatology are laid down, and on both these subjects we must make some remarks, before we proceed to apply the principles of some of the preceding chapters to Indian investigations.

We will first make a remark on the subject of "Changes and Errors." Any person with the most superficial knowledge of the Science of Language must be aware of the wear and tear which all words have undergone, as they have been handed down from mouth to mouth of succeeding generations. The names of places, if they have not suffered to the same extent as ordinary words, have nevertheless yielded to the all conquering influences of time : and, as our author states, "the influences are of two kinds : "The first is simply phonetic. A conquering nation finds it

"difficult to pronounce certain vocables which enter into the names used by the conquered people, and changes consequently arise, which bring the ancient names into harmony with the phonetic laws of the language spoken by the conquerors. Many illustrations of this process may be found in, Doomsday-book. The inquisitors seem to have been slow to catch the pronunciation of the Saxon names, and were more-over ignorant of their etymologies and we meet consequently with many ludicrous transformations."

"We have now to consider a class of corruptions which have arisen from a totally different cause. Men have felt a natural desire to assign a plausible meaning to names—to make them, in fact, no longer sounds, but words. This instructive causativeness of the human mind—this perpetual endeavour to find a reason, or a plausible explanation, for every thing, has corrupted many of the words which we have in daily use, and a large allowance for this source of error must be made, when we are investigating the original forms of ancient names. No cause has been more fruitful in producing corruptions than popular attempts to explain from the vernacular and bring into harmony with a supposed etymology, names, whose real explanation is to be sought in some language known only to the learned. Names, significant in the vernacular are constructed out of the ruins of the ancient unintelligible names just as we find the modern village of Mesopotamia built of bricks stamped with the cuneiform legend of Nebuchadnezzar."

Of the first influence we have notable instances in India: the town of "Thanesar" was formerly "Sthanesvara," "the seat of Siva;" "Benares" can be traced to "Varanasi," the junction of the rivers "Varana" and "Asi;" "Lucknow" to "Laknāvati;" "Oudh" to "Ajodya," "the unconquerable one;" "Canouj" to "Kanhakubja," and so on to any extent. Of the second influence, we have instances in the alleged origin of the names of "Láhor" and "Kassur" in "Lava" and "Kusa" the two sons of "Rama." The law of phonetic change has been carefully laid down as between certain branches of the Indo-European family of languages, and is known as Grimm's Law, but it is capable of further expansion as regards other branches of other families. Mr. Taylor furnishes some memorable examples of the changes of names. Conspicuous among these are "Istamboul" for "Constantinople," "*ἐς τὴν πόλιν*" and "Stanko" for Cos, *ἐς τὰν κῶ*. The whole of this chapter is full of linguistic anecdotes of marvellous interest and piquancy.

We now proceed to Chapter XVII, which though the conclusion of Mr. Taylor's work, would be the starting point of any hardy adventurer who is ready to open new and original soil.

Certain principles are worked out which must be attended to, if the subject is to be treated scientifically, and with any hope of permanent results. Any other method will lead to startling absurdities, or vague and unmeaning guesses.

Firstly.—It must be an article of faith, that local names are never in any single instance arbitrary sounds, but, however fragmentary the portion that has come down to us, there is a meaning to be extracted from it, if we can only get at it; this discovery was easy enough in the newly constituted societies of America and Australia, but is one of extreme difficulty in Europe, and, perhaps, it is in many cases wholly impossible in India, and the rest of Asia, in the present state of our linguistic knowledge.

Secondly.—The next requisite is to ascertain the language in which the name was given; this matter must be settled by geographical and historical considerations.

Thirdly.—The earliest documentary form of the name must be ascertained, and if two or more characters are in use, or have been used, it is of importance that the names should be set down with the minutest accuracy in all.

Fourthly.—If, as is often the case in India, the name has never heretofore been reduced to writing of a permanent or accessible character, endeavour must be made to record it correctly on the analogy of similar names, bearing in mind the laws of phonetic change, to which reference has been made.

Fifthly.—Attempts at interpretation must then be made, bearing in mind the grammatical structure of words, and the syntactical arrangement of the language to which the word is attributed.

Sixthly.—Consideration must be had to the possibly discovered interpretation of other names in the neighbourhood, bearing in mind the possible immigration at different epochs, of races and languages all of which have left their mark within limited areas.

Seventhly.—The linguistic result may be tested by topographical or physical considerations; if the interpretation brings out physical features, is it confirmed by the facts? If, on the other hand, historical features are indicated, are they confirmed by independent history?

Much must, indeed, depend upon happy guesses, or bold presumptions, verified by subsequent corroborating proofs, but the method proposed is at least a safe and scientific, and, as far as the lapse of years, and the confusion caused by the denomination of races and languages during long periods of ignorance will permit, a successful one.

Eighthly.—A scientific analysis of names of places will surely lead to the establishment of this fact, that in far the greater number there are two component elements, which, for the sake of convenience, may be called the "adjectival," and "substantival."

elements respectively, and our author sufficiently establishes that it is of the essence of some languages to present the substantival element in the form of a "suffix," and in others of a "prefix" to the adjectival element; the word generally means road, bridge, ford, boundary, island, river, mountain, valley, dwelling or enclosure, as the case may be, qualified by a personal or descriptive word, denoting the possessor, the builder, or the relative position, antiquity, excellence, or other characteristic feature.

We will illustrate this position by quoting a few Teutonic suffixes, and Keltic prefixes, for in England, by a singular chance, we have the two practices side by side: A Teutonic location is known by the terminations of "ham," "ton," "hurst," "ley," "worth," "by," "den," "don," "combe," "sted," "borough," "thorpe," "cote," "stoke," "set," "thwaite," "holt," "bourne," "hill," "shiels," "stow," "wick," "fell," "law," "ey," "stone," "beck": on the other hand a Keltic location is identified by "aber," "inver," "ath," "bally," "kil," "llan," "ben," "glen," "strath," "loch," "innis," "inch." A full enumeration of adjectival forms would obviously partake of the character of a dictionary, but they may be grouped generally under one of the following heads: I.—Relative magnitude. II.—Relative position. III.—Relative age. IV.—Numerals. V.—Natural productions or features, such as animals, trees, rivers, rocks, minerals, and fruits. VI.—Names implying excellence or the reverse. VII.—Configuration. VIII.—Colour. IX.—Caste, religion or tribe. X.—Historical event.

It must be remembered that sometimes there is a consciousness of the meaning of the name, at other times the meaning is so entirely forgotten, that it is repeated in another language as the "*River Avon*" the "*River Esk*," "*Mon Gibello*," "*Pen-hill*," "*Wansbeck-water*," and many other *hybrid* compounds. It often may be a question whether the name is the record of a person or an event; thus, centuries hence, it may be a question whether the name Victoria scattered so profusely over the world records a victory, or a sovereign, or a state, or a railway station, or the name of the wife of some local authority.

How strangely names are altered merely by the rendering of the words from one language to another, is illustrated by the travels of Fa Hian and the other Chinese pilgrims who visited India for the purpose of local inquiries. Being men of learning and piety, they took the greatest pains to record the names of places and shrines correctly, and yet their works are a linguistic puzzle owing to the peculiarities of the Chinese language.

In extracting a meaning out of hitherto meaningless words; in awakening up echoes of history which have long since been silent; in conjuring up traditions, and in starting delightful ethnical theories, there is great danger, and the greatest caution must be used as

to the conclusions drawn, and especially in regard to the branch of the subject which relates to personages, who have often a mythical, or to speak technically an "eponymic" existence. "This phrase" is used to convey the suggestion that a personal name has been evolved by popular speculation to account for some geographical term, the true meaning of which has not been understood." In the annals of every country there have existed the wildest absurdities : France is said to have taken its name from "Francies" the son of Hector, and Britain from, "Brutus," a son of Æneas. The atmosphere of the Indian world is impregnated with the wildest notions, independent of all shackles of chronology, or probability, or geography. But there may be germs of truth lying hidden amidst a mass of traditional rubbish, and they are worth the trouble of extracting.

Taking leave of Mr. Taylor with renewed thanks for his interesting and meritorious work which may be destined to be the parent of many other works, for as yet only one corner of the subject has been explored, we proceed to throw out suggestions for applying the principles, worked out for a portion of Western Europe, to the original field of India. As regards Upper India betwixt the rivers Kīramnasa, and the Indus, we may say without fear of contradiction that a list of every hamlet, village, town, sub-division, province, mountain, river, and lake, can be supplied from the offices of Government in two distinct characters—the Semitic and the Devanāgarī, thus limiting the field of error by a system of checks. Many of these names have been reduced to writing for many hundreds of years, and appear in archaic forms in Sanskrit words. Much attention to the subject has been paid in different districts, but the information has never been collected together and grouped, and no serious scientific attempt has been made to solve the meaning of those names which have not yielded to the first attempt. It may be said that hundreds of the same names appear in every district, and some are repeated scores of times. Assuming roughly that there are sixty districts in the two great Provinces of Northern India, and allowing an average of one thousand villages to a district, we have an accumulation of sixty thousand names, which might be collected, arranged alphabetically, and brought under the examination of the scholar.

The number might be reduced, perhaps, to one-half by allowing for repetition of the same or similar names, and from the reduced number many may be deducted of well-known and obvious derivation ; a certain proportion will yield to a little scholarly consideration—and there will remain over a formidable residuum, of battered, clipped, and unintelligible counters, on the face of which no legend can be deciphered. This is the

work which has to be done, and to which we invite the attention of those who have the necessary knowledge and acumen, and can find the leisure.

It has been already stated that an intelligent knowledge of the language, in which the name was probably originally composed, is an essential feature of the inquiry. Without pretending to exhaust the subject, we may note the possible linguistic vehicles of every name in India.

I.—The non-Aryan tongues which have fallen to the rank of patois, which have little or no literature, and which are spoken only by people in the lowest stage of culture and social position; and yet these languages take precedence of all others in time, and it may possibly be found that the first comers had the privilege of naming for ever all the great physical features of the country, and many of the most ancient settlements. In fact they occupy the position of the Keltic or pre-Keltic names in Europe, the settlers with regard to whose existence there is no doubt, but with regard to whom history is silent, and the successive tides of whose immigration can only be detected by careful analysis of traces which they have left, "just as the ripple-marked slabs of sandstone record the tidal flow of the primeval Ocean."

II.—The great Aryan family of languages, of which Sanskrit is the oldest and most finished type, occupy the Secondary Period. It is not pretended that Sanskrit ever was a vulgar tongue, but its place was occupied by a vernacular of many forms and varieties, but resembling each other in grammatical organization. The chief among these are the Hindi; the Urdu or Hindustáni, of a date subsequent to the Muhammadan dominion; the Bhruj, the Bengáli, the Panjábi, and the Hill patois: add to these Pushtu or Affghán of the Irani branch; and, turning Southward, Guzeráthi, Mahráti, and Sindhi. If the inquiry is extended to the Southern portions of the Indian Peninsula, consideration will have to be paid to the Dravidian family of languages, consisting of Tamil, Malayálim, Canarese, and Telugu. This great period, though not recorded in contemporary history, is well supplied with annals and legends, and literary documents.

III.—We now come to the great Historic or Tertiary Period, which divides itself into two portions, during the former of which the languages, into which new and larger life was infused by the great Muhammadan propagandism, predominated. By a singular chance the three languages of this category belong to essentially different families, and the degree of their separation is one that cannot be indicated by any measure of time within human knowledge or speculation. Admitting that mankind sprang from a single pair, it is not easy to speculate at what distant period, the Persian, a member of the Aryan family, the Arabic,

a member of the Semitic family, and the Tartar, a member of the Turanian family, separated; yet all these poured into India with different degrees of profusion within the Historic Period, and (though the organic structure of the three is essentially different), the same Dictionary, owing to the domination of Arabic words, might do for all, but with an Aryan organic structure alone. The latter portion of this period is occupied by the Christian languages, the Portuguese, French, English and Dutch.

Thus much about languages; but cognizance must be taken of another great feature in the History of India. In Europe, by fair measures or foul; by reason, interest, colonization, or the sword, the Christian religion has succeeded in stamping out the ancient religions of the older world; whatever of the early Semitic cults the Phœnicians introduced into their European colonies; whatever were the beauties or the defects of the great and romantic state worships of Greece and Rome; whatever was the savagery of the Scandinavians, or the cruelty of the Druidical rites among the old Norsemen and the Celts; they have all long since perished. The great monotheistic idea of the Arabian Prophet made an analogous clean sweep of fire-worship and all the ancient fetichisms of the North of Africa and West of Asia as far as the Indus. But in India no such clean sweep has been made. As, wave upon wave, the new races were imported, or the new ideas were wrought out, they had, with some local and temporary exceptions, leave to expand, and have left their mark. Religious tolerance has ever been the common law of India. We have: I.—The primeval cults of the aboriginals, or earliest immigrants, by whatever name they are known. Often superficially ranged among the Hindus, they differ from them essentially, and the time has come when their language and religion must be recognized. II.—The great Brahminical polytheistic system. III.—The great heresy of Buddha and the subsequent Jain development. IV.—The great monotheistic dogma of Muhammad. V.—The Christian Faith. With the exception of the last, all those religious persuasions have left their mark on the nomenclature of Indian places.

A third feature is that of races: in Europe we read of the Phœnicians, the Teutons, the Hellenes, the Latins, the Iberians, the Northmen, the Slaves, and the Kelts; all have left their mark, and many others, to mention whose names there is not space; without the historic knowledge of some, many names would have been unintelligible; of others the names themselves form the basis of historical hypothesis. So it is in India; the student must avail himself of the ethnological knowledge accumulated during the last half century. The very names by which some of the Provinces are known, or have in days bygone been known; the very name of India is suggestive of historical facts. One of the results of this

investigation into the meanings of names would be the preparation of maps showing by spots the comparatively sparse, or excessive sprinkling of names of a particular race or language in particular localities. In the book under review some very striking features of the extent of the Saxon and Danish Colonies in Britain have been exhibited by the contrivance of maps prepared in the mode above described.

We now proceed to notice the most familiar of the substantival elements in Indian names. Prefixes are rare, but some few may be noted of an obvious character, and many more may come to light upon a close analysis of non-Aryan names, which have, by lapse of time or perverseness of articulation, been robbed of terminal, medial, and initial letters, and have hardened into rough monosyllables, or suffered capricious transposition of their composing letters. We note "Kilak," "Derak," "Chak," "Serái." The suffixes are more numerous, and the list may be considerably enlarged. We note "bas," "abád," "kót," "drug," "patán," "pur," "garh" or "griha," "ganj," "kand," "pet," "gaon" or "gong," "shahr," "serái," "nagar," "bazár," "sur," "ghát," "pind," "tál." Human nature is true to itself in all countries, and these words represent precisely the class of objects, which we find a few pages back clothed in a Teutonic or Keltic dress.

We propose now to give some instances of names to illustrate each period—commencing with the latest, or Tertiary, where all is historically certain. Of the European names some are pure and unmixed with indigenous elements; some are hybrids:—of the first kind are Fort William, Fort St. George, Victoria Fort, names derived from England direct: Dalhousie, Amherst, Auckland Bay, Port Canning, Fort Hastings, Wellesley Province, Montgomery, named after Governors: French Rocks, Porto Nuovo, Port Blair, Diamond Harbour, False Point, Palmyra Point, explain themselves: we ourselves named a tract of newly recovered land in a far distant province, which we are as little likely ever to see again, as ever to forget, with the name of "London," and as such it will go to posterity, explaining its own imperial origin, unless some jealous successor has changed the name to Snooksabád or Smithpur.

As specimens of the hybrids we give Abbotábád, Campbellpur, Revell-ganj, Morell-ganj, Kydd-ganj, Barrackpur, Jacobábád, Edwardes-ábád, George-ghar, Captain-ganj, Frazer-pet, Birdpur, Bankipur, Malcolm-pet, &c. &c. From a linguistic point of view, there is nothing unusual or incorrect in these combinations, but what shall be said of the native name for Barrackpore, "Achának," from Job Charnock, the first English inhabitant!

There is a great variety in the form of the names used to indicate Provinces, or large tracts of country: we have one set of

Robil-kand, Bandal-kand, Bhugil-kand and another Rájputána, Ehatti-ána, Puri-ána, and a third Afghánistán, Beluchistán, Hindustán, Sistán : we have archaic names such as Anga, Banga, Carnata, Dakshina, Bhárata, Varsha, Maháráshtra. All these are tribal ; national, or political names ; but beneath them come names which can be traced back to physical features, such as Dún, Doár, Kohistán, Doáb, Mawur-al-Nuhr (the two latter reminding us of Mesopotamia and Perœa, Antarbéd, Bar, Thul, Panjáb, Panjnad, Sind, Ságar, Sirhind.

Then comes another class of names, in which the evidence of artificial composition is most marked ; such as the well-known names for the four great Doabs of the Panjáb, which are actually found by a combination of the initial letters of their respective rivers : thus the country betwixt the rivers Báyás and Satlej is called the "Bist" Doáb ; that betwixt the Báyás and Ravi is called the Bari Doáb ; that betwixt the Ravi and Chenáb is called the "Rechna" Doáb ; that betwixt the Jhelam and Chenáb is called the "Jhach" Doáb. These names were well understood, and accepted by the people, and we are not aware of any country having names so thoroughly based on literary artifice. The same remark applies to the Province of "Deraját."

An interesting chapter might be written to bring together all the lore connected with the names of Indian rivers and mountains. The six rivers of the Panjáb can all be identified with their Sanskrit names, which contain a meaning, and the Greek version of the names brought back by the historians of Alexander in an Hellenic form. The same may be said with regard to the Jamna, the Ganges, the Gogra, the Gandak, the Chambal, the Sone, which is described in Arnás by the name of "Erannoboas," the Hellenic version of "Hiranyabuja" the other name of the same river, but both equally meaning "Gold."

We come now to the secondary or historic period of names of towns or villages. The audacious Muhammadans ventured upon the fruitless enterprise of giving new names to the ancient towns of India. The Romans dared to re-name Jerusalem as Œlia, and London as Augusta, and we know from history the amount of success which attended their efforts. In some cases, at least, the Muhammadan names of the great towns of India are concurrent with the old ones. Thus Dehli is known as Shahjehánábád, and Agra as Akbarábád, and Allahabád is still called Prayág, and Patna is known as Azimábád, and Chittagong as Islamábád, and Aligarh and Coel are exchangeable terms. Famine, pestilence, and war have periodically depopulated India, and thus new locations have been made on old sites, to which often an ancient name, still clinging to the soil, is vaguely attached in the traditions of the country-side. Here we have an innocent conflict

of names, but the same result has in many cases happened from fraud and violence.

Within the historic period the adjectival portions of the name can be traced to divers reasons.

I.—Dynastic—The names of sovereigns speak out in Aurangábád, Ranjítghar, Sulímpur, Ludiánah, Jaunpur, and in our own days Dulípghar.

II.—Official titles, applied by way of compliment, such as Sháhpur, and the other numerous compounds of Sháh and Rájá : Nawábganj, Wazírábád, Dewánganj, Mallikpur, Imámganj, and a hundred others.

III.—Next come the personal names of the founders, the patrons, of which we can but give a specimen : Azimábád, Morádábád, Hushiárpur, Derah Fateh Khán, Begampur, Daranagar, Jaipur.

IV.—Another class owe their names to religious causes, such as Amritsar, Dharampur, Gurudáspur, Islámganj, Dharamsála.

V.—Next comes the "tribal" or professional name, though the specification has long ceased to apply. We have Gujerat, and Gujarpur, Mhairwára, Bainswára, Gorakhpur, Pathánkót, Gosainganj, and many others.

VI.—The names of deities, saints, heroes, and temples supply another very large class, and we need only quote Rámpur, Síta-pur, Hardwár, Sri Rámpur, Pírnagar, Govindghar, as illustrations, when scores will occur to the memory of every one.

VII.—To record a conquest or a power of successful resistance ; of these we have Fatehpur, Jaffar-ábád, Ajyghar, Bijighar, Feroz-abád, Ajodya.

VIII.—The abundance of particular products is a natural origin to a name, such as Gul-pur, Ambála, Bánsapur, Bághpur, Mahábban, Machhli-shahr.

IX.—A still more fertile origin of nomenclature may be found in physical features ; their name is legion, such as Pahárpur, Ghát-pur, Nahrapur, Daryá-abád, Safaidkoh, Dámankoh, Uncha Deh, Himálaya.

X.—Then come a vast class of cases, which come under no head, in which the name has been given much on the same principle that the ship-builder names his vessel "Polly" or "Joy." We have Anandpur, Fáizábád, Basantpur, Hamírpur, Bardwán, Chándpur, Pák Pattán, and the ubiquitous analogies of the equally ubiquitous Newton, Newhaven, Newport, indicating the poverty of the wit of the first settlers, unless perhaps, the name grew insensibly by the same process as the "East-end" and "West-end" of London are now growing.

XI.—Of another class of names some have no substantival, and others no adjectival element ; of the latter are Ságar, Mandi,

Hissar, Kót, Gahr, Tanda, Serái, Chak ; of the latter are Kási, Hazára, &c. &c.

XII.—Lastly, we may note the numerical prefix : as in Europe we meet with Dupont, and Zweibruck, Tres Tabernæ, and Three Bridges, Six Miles End, Sevenoaks, Nineelms, so in India we find Doberji, Tiwári and Trimukhte, Chár Mangal, Páncbgaon, and Panjáb, Hastnagar, Dassoah and Daska, Chaurasi, Hazára, Laccadwipa and Naulakki.

Passing on to the primary or prehistoric period, we have no assistance from history, and have to grope our way through the dim light of past years without a chronicle : in some cases we have linguistic analogies, or well-supported traditions, in others we have ingenious speculations : in a large percentage of cases, hopeless darkness.

There is sometimes poetry and sentiment in the names assigned, such as hasli, the necklace, to the native canal, which meandered through the Bari Doab, "a string of pearls at random flung" as "Mála Dwipa," the necklace of islands ; as "Karam-nassa," the Sin-destroyer, implying that the river so called was a kind of Jordan, in which sinners could wash and be clean ; as "Yár Wifádár," the faithful friend to the Army, which marched down the course of the river, and drank of its waters ; as "Wah," the ejaculation of admiration at the beauty of the spot ; as "Jowála Mukh," the mouth of flame, a correct description of a Naptha well.

We find analogies to the nomenclature of Europe—the meeting of waters has given names to "York," and "Prág," and "Sangan" in the Bombay Presidency : we have already alluded to such words as "Newton" and "Neapolis" we have "Shahíd-ganj" analogous to "Merthyr Tydvill" : we have fanciful derivations, such as "Násik" from the nose of Suparnakka, there cut off by Rámá : "Kaithul" from Kapistal ; "Attock," the hinderance of the river Indus ; "Pesháwar," the advance guard of Indu : "Nabha," the omphalus, or navel of the Earth, a humble, but original, repetition of the Delphic boast ; "Rikhikes," where the Ganges fell from the tangled hair of the sage, and "Guangadwára" where it burst through the portals of the mountains. Even tombs have romantic names, such as "Táj Mahál," and "Anarkalli," the native of India talks of the whole of the world beyond India as "Wilayut"—"the province," and *the place of* transportation as "Kálipáni"—the "Black water," Other names occur to us, such as "Bungalow" the solitary house marked by the boatmen on the Satlej, as if the only one in existence, and the two small sacred lakes known as the "Eyes of the World." The names of rivers are rarely unique : we find repetitions of "Ganga," "Swan," "Tohi," &c., everywhere, being the shadow of the original term, which meant

"the river." But time and space would fail us on this interesting subject, and we must cease with this remark, that the name of "India" had originally a local signification, which was extended by the people of the West into a term for the whole of the known country beyond the Sindh or Indus : thus the term of Asia expanded from the environs of Ephesus so as to include a vast portion of the world ; thus the Greeks named the country of the Jews "Palastina" on account of their bitter acquaintance with the Philistines, their most deadly enemies.

Other cautions must be given. Words may have worn down to precisely the same form, but from entirely different originals : in England the suffix "wick" may in some cases be traced back to "vicus" and indicate only a village, and in other cases to "wic" a bay, where ordinarily bay-salt was formed by the process of evaporation ; hence the word has by analogy found its way to places, where only rock-salt is found. So in India the word "tope" may be traced back to "topi" and mean an island, or a plantation of trees, or "Shtupa" and mean a Buddhist tomb. Bahár comes from "Vihára" a monastery, and not from the word familiar as "spring," and the word "Medina" may have either a Semitic or an Indo-European origin. Many a pitfall is open to the unwary from this alternative of two distinct families of languages brought into constant hybrid connection.

Another snare may arise from too hasty ethnical deductions. The phenomenon of a large majority of the villages bearing the prefix of "Saint" must, and may probably with correctness, lead to the conclusion, that the district was first colonized by Christians, and in a remote corner of the world out of the passage of great tribes, and the occurrence of great events, like Cornwall, this may possibly hold good, but the North of India has been trodden down periodically by great locust-flights of nations, vast tracts have been occupied, laid waste, abandoned, land has become water, and water become land, the action of the mighty rivers have been such as is not conceivable to those who have not left Europe : thus wave of population has followed wave, and layer has overlaid layer, extending over a vast period of time. In the time of Alexander the Great there were great and populous kingdoms in India, while Britain was in a state of savagery.

Some definite results may be attained by a percentage analysis of local names within limited areas, as soon as the names have been sorted, and distributed in ethnical families. The occurrence of a vast number of substantival elements must lead to the fair inference of the existing settlement of sites, and boundaries dating back to the particular race, who have left their mark. Moreover the words used for divisions of provinces, or clusters of villages, may lead to results. It is established that the term

"Hundred" was introduced by the Saxon, the "Wapentake" by the Dane, the "Rape" by the Norman, and the "Canton" by the Kelt. May it not be that the local name of "Parganah," "Tapah," "Talorgah," and other similar terms can be traced back to particular epochs and races?

The chapters on "sacred sites" and "historic sites" are replete with interest all over the old world, which has a history. The names of "Battle" in Sussex and "Battle Flats" in Yorkshire, record the fact of the triumph of Harold the son of Godwin over Harold the King of Norway, and his own defeat and death a few days after. The name of "Slaughter Bridge" near Tintagel Castle in Cornwall tells us where King Arthur traditionally suffered his last defeat: "Sanguinello" still marks the spot of Thrasy-mene. In India we must not connect the numerous compounds of "Sekandar" with "Alexander" the Great, any more than the compounds of "Dara" with Darius, but Ibrahím Lodi, Humáyun, Akbar, Sháh Jehán, Jehánghír, Aurangzib, Farakhsir, and a host of the great men of former ages have left their names behind them. If we find no saints recorded, there are no less unmistakable evidences of religious feeling, in the compounds of Siva, Vishnu, Krishna, Arjan, Ráma, Síta, Lakshmi, Devi, Sodb, Gusain, Brahman, Ghayi, Pír, Sayad, and others.

In the thousands of towns, villages and hamlets of India, a wider field of available inquiry is thrown open than in any other country, if only the workmen can be found armed with knowledge, patience, and intelligence. Would that we were young to help in this work, as we were "Consule Planco," when we contributed to the *Calcutta Review* in its infancy, and went in to subdue and settle the newly annexed districts of the Panjáb. At any rate from the safe and long-wished-for retreat, where we have time to reflect on much that was not done well, and much that was left undone altogether, we think that we have not done wholly unwell, if in the service of ethnology and philosophy we have opened up the road by which younger and more vigorous spirits may advance.

ART. III.—THE TUB FABLES:—

Being a Collection of Philosophic Tales of considerable antiquity with occasional Deductions for the use of unlearned Persons.

I.

THE DISEASE OF HOPE.

HOPE, planting its foot upon knowledge and kicking away faith, became a vice in the heart of Florian, where it built innumerable airy castles, which could have had no foundation in any other place. As intoxication drags its victims into a false consciousness, hope forced Florian out of the world of realities into regions that were peopled with dream-pictures; and his moral perceptions, of which he had not many at starting—nor were these vigorous—were no less blunted by indulgence in hope than is the moral sense of a man ordinarily poisoned with strong drink. He became at last so desperately hopeful that he never allowed the gods a chance of agreeably disappointing him.

It is said of Florian that the king of the country, in which he hoped, once offered him an office of dignity and trust, to which were attached emoluments that would have ensured the life-long happiness of any man, and of many men possessing ampler talents than those possessed by Florian; but that he, whose dreams had far outstript the possibilities of life, turned away in disgust from the royal charity, and shortly after expired through starvation in an incommodious hostelry on a roadside.

Corollary.—Though hope deferred makes the heart sick, yet is it wiser to grow sick in the usual manner, even though it be unto death, than to harbour hopes which may not be fulfilled.

Moral.—Though it be wise and safe to allow experience to beget hopes, yet is it unsafe and unwise to urge hope to suggest facts.

II.

THE TORMENT OF EXPOSITION.

Barbican was born in squalor and bred in poverty, but suddenly rose to comparative affluence by the death of an ancient virgin aunt, of whose existence he had never so much as heard, until a letter from a notary instructed him that he had been raised in the scale of importance by a decent legacy. This legacy, which had sufficed to maintain many men of superior character in comfort for the natural term of life, took Barbican so much by surprise that, although it added largely to his resources—or more accurately, gave him resources, who had previously none—nevertheless failed to superinduce contentment. The surprise created by a

sudden access of wealth he found to be so pleasant, that he strove to perpetuate it by numerous contemptible devices. To Barbican's mind the consideration that he was credited with the acquisition of a fortune brought greater relief than the knowledge that he possessed some money. Accordingly, he set himself, with much diligence if with little wit, to the task of expending the moderate fortune he had inherited in endeavours to persuade his neighbours that he was a person of considerable resources.

In the country in which Barbican fooled himself and strove to deceive others, it was customary for people engaged in large commercial transactions to send letters of credit to each other by the hand of carriers; and a law of that country required that, for greater security of transport, all letters conveying remittances, of whatever sort, should be bound up in a cubit of silken braid of an expensive kind. The sight of this braid excited in the minds of the letter-carriers a sensation of honesty, whereof they were otherwise devoid; and the State compensated itself for the cost of its purchase by levying a tax on all remittances.

Barbican, who desired nothing better than that his friends and visitors should believe that he was constantly receiving letters which enclosed remittances of money, expended his entire inheritance in the purchase of bales of the silken braid, the which, when purchased, he cut up into pieces of the length of a cubit, and so sprinkled all over his apartments as to create in the mind of any casual visitor the impression that he was perpetually receiving remittances.

After he had exhausted his whole inheritance in this species of display, which won him some notoriety while it endured, he was glad enough to sell the fragments of the braid, at some small fraction of their original cost, in order to purchase some bread and ale, and to defray the expenses of a night's lodging at an inferior tavern, wherein he had before felt ashamed to picket a blind mare.

Corollary.—The suddenness of a change in the manner to which one is born is apt, unless it be disinfected of its abruptness, to confuse the faculties of men.

Moral.—They who come suddenly into a fortune, for which they have not toiled, must have a care to make no great difference in the ordinary habits of life, before they have grown entirely accustomed to the possession of wealth.

III.

MIND AND MATTER.

The Smitherenes, a race which inhabited the North Pole, were a people of no little refinement and of considerable delicacy of

perception; but inasmuch as the art of writing was unknown among them, they at one time experienced much difficulty in effecting interchanges of ideas. The curse of articulate utterance was not indeed entirely withheld from them by Fate, but they had brought it under complete subjection; and they were so refined in their ideas, and so delicate in their perceptions, that all noise was accounted a moral enormity, and talking a public nuisance. They consequently passed each other in the streets, and stared at each other at feasts, thinking magnificent thoughts the while, but uttering nothing, whereby many germs of philosophy and flowers of eloquence were hopelessly lost to the world; until at last a youth named Jornells invented a device whereby one might commune with his neighbour, without being guilty of any indecent outrage. This device consisted in the representation of sentiments by means of pickled cabbages, the which when placed in one way on a platter signified one association of ideas, and in another, another. When a sentiment grew intensely fine, or it became necessary to evolve an abstruse deduction, an onion was thrown into the representation. In this manner, philosophy increased by communion, and great importance came to be attached to pickles and cabbages, as well as to the occasional onion; and many men, who were but gardeners and picklers began to assume the dignity of philosophers. "We," said they, "who provide the instruments which enable other men to exchange ideas that enrich the world, are clearly no less benefactors of the human race than they who merely amuse themselves with our handiwork. For whether is it easier to grow a cabbage and to pickle it, and to produce an onion on requisition, or, after these vegetables have been pickled and bottled, to lay them out in particular forms on a platter?" Having decided this question to their own satisfaction, the gardeners and picklers became men of great renown; and they may possibly continue to be so to the present day, unless the Smitherenes have abandoned their former conceits, or some inventor has discovered better instruments for interchange of thought and feeling than pickled cabbages seasoned with an occasional onion.

Corollary.—In an artificial society, less importance is attached to moral than to material interests; and brains are not of necessity a better patrimony than filthy lucre.

Moral.—Gross natures, by a law of gross nature, prefer material to mental excellence.

IV.

VIRTUE ITS OWN REWARD.

A Physician of Bœotia, having exhausted the resources of his science in assailing a disease which had fastened on the great

The Tub Fables.

toe of a labourer, at last sent the labourer on a long sea voyage for a change of air, fervently hoping the while that the gods and the elements would between them make an end of a troublesome customer. The labourer, however, fell overboard on the voyage, and had his diseased toe bitten off by a shark; whereupon nature re-asserted herself in the remainder of his frame which was tolerably sound, and the man became healthy in a few days. His body, the whole of which had previously suffered from a little cause, at once resumed its former robustness; and the ploughman returned home in rude health—the physician gaining greatly in reputation by the miraculous cure. The shark, which had bitten off the diseased toe, was subsequently captured by a fisherman, who made over its corpse to a learned society in Athens, which caused the skin to be properly stuffed, and preserved, as a specimen of an enemy to the human race.

Corollary.—The foolish things of the world are often times chosen to confound the wise.

Moral.—But men, being reasonable creatures, sometimes know not whence they have been confounded.

V.

THE PLEASURES OF CONTROVERSY.

A Priest of the early Greek Church, by name Kaliphronas, once disputed with a heretic about the future consequences of sin. The priest maintaining that sin ensured everlasting torment, and the heretic contending that eternal life continued to be eternal life, whether it was happy or miserable, and that everlasting life was therefore the reward alike of sinners and saints, the controversy waxed warm and warmer, until the priest, who had authority in the realm, and considered fire a greater purifier of error than argument, had his opponent seized and burnt on the stake for his obstinacy.

"Oh Kaliphronas!" cried the heretic, as the flames encircled him and scorched his flesh, without daunting his spirit; "if thou hadst any conception of the discomfort I experience, and if thou hadst a spark of that commiseration for thy race, which thy master disclosed while on earth, thou wouldst less readily consign the majority of mankind to suffering for ever and ever." But in spite of what he uttered, the heretic was reduced to cinders; and the priest had the best of the argument. It is related that certain spectators of the holocaust whispered to one another that it was a pity that heresy was so foul a sin, seeing that even in its last extremity it was unselfishly concerned about the sufferings of others; but inasmuch as the power of the priest was paramount, and the stake on which the heretic was consumed seemed uninvited.

ing, these sinful whispers miscarried at the birth. So, as has already been said, the priest had the best of the argument.

Corollary.—It is unsafe to argue, when your opponent can establish the superiority of his proposition by shifting his ground from theory to practice.

Moral.—The tendency of all controversy is to confirm disputants in their foregone conclusions.

VI.

THE POVERTY OF NATURE AND THE WEALTH OF ART.

A little damsel of much shrewdness once enquired of her mother wherefore it was that boys usually ill-treated girls, whereas men of mature age invariably venerated women. The mother, not knowing in what form of words to meet the enquiry, replied uncertainly that she supposed it was an order of Nature. But the damsel quickly retorted that, if it were an order of Nature, the order must have been imparted when Nature first turned out her handiwork, and that her instructions ought therefore to be fresher in the minds of children than in those of persons of more mature growth. The mother, marvelling at the forwardness of her child, rejoined that this thing must be by reason of Art, which man had devised in order to modify Nature to his liking.

"I clearly perceive," then said the damsel who, though of tender years, was not so young that she might not think, "that human creatures, being human, invariably seek and obtain whatsoever they may desire, and then proceed to justify the possession of it by the most handy excuse, but are never concerned to satisfy conscience, when they have any, whether that in which they delight is wrong or right." The mother, not perceiving the drift of her daughter's words, and their bearing on her own inconsistency, considered the girl a paragon of wisdom, whereas, if she had but understood her well, the damsel being young, she had probably given her some slaps.

Corollary.—Wisdom is often ordained out of the mouths of growing girls.

Moral.—Adult men and women often know not how recklessly Art has taught them to trample on the instincts inspired by Nature.

VII.

THE RELATIVITY OF INIQUITY.

It is related that in the country of the Puritani a very small quantity of sin was committed, but that, whether from the force of contrast or from its inherent vileness, what little sin was committed was exceedingly gross. The instincts of the righteous majority, however, had so far triumphed over the evil impulses of

the unholy few, that all individuals were bound by the law of the realm to denounce all iniquity, whenever they came across it.

It is said that Castalina, a maiden of spotless purity and great comeliness, while passing through the vestibule of a temple, witnessed an act of great impropriety. Urged by her conscience, as it had been taught by custom, to reveal what she had seen for the general good of the community, but restrained by her natural purity from wording a sad secret, she was distracted by a mental conflict, which eventually unsettled her reason and destroyed her physical frame. So she died.

Castalina was cited by the theologians of her age as an instance of "invincible ignorance"; by the physicians, as a case of "mental aberration"; by the poets, who were not required to explain their sayings, as a proof that woman was made of man, and man in the image of the gods. Her mother, to whom her secret was unconsciously revealed in the paroxysms of her malady, persisted in believing that her spirit had departed to the heaven in which the Puritani believed, such as it was. Her father, who was a morose man, carved a statue to her memory out of fine granite, and used to gaze upon it with devotion; her brother never mentioned her name, though he often recalled her goodness to his mind, and sighed over it in secrecy; and her sisters were never married.

As the mother revealed her daughter's calamity to a few sympathising female friends, under a strict promise of secrecy, the story circulated rapidly among the Puritani, and at last reached the ears of the King. And the King pondered all these things in his heart, but held his peace.

Corollary.—Iniquity is relative, depending on accidents for its enormity.

Moral.—Rulers of men, who live by the breath of the favour of their subjects, are bound to acquiesce in all manner of popular delusions.

VIII.

THE FORCE OF EXAMPLE.

A boy, by name Impressario, who adored his mother but detested his father, inasmuch as the former always privately gave him some lolipops, immediately after the latter had publicly chastised him, was suddenly converted into a full-grown man, at his own request, which he had preferred at the shrine of the deity of mischief. In outward seeming a man, but still at heart a boy, he straightway possessed himself of a stout cudgel, where-with he lustily belaboured his father, exacting vengeance for many past sufferings. The mother, greatly grieved at this unfilial demeanour, and having fruitlessly remonstrated with her son, commenced to weep and wail; whereupon the boy-man, whose

mind had not been enlarged with his body, forthwith thrust a number of lollipops into her hand. Considering these sweets a sovereign consolation for the calamities of life, he was both surprised and grieved to find them fail of the effect which they had heretofore produced in himself.

"Was it because I was despised," he said, "that my mother, whom I have always loved, administered to me a remedy for suffering, which proves inefficacious in her own case?"

Having repeated this question aloud for a number of times without receiving any satisfactory response either from the gods or from his fellow men, Impressario entreated the deity, who had accomplished his metamorphosis, to restore him to his natural estate; and thereafter, this prayer being answered at once, he proceeded to abominate his father and mother alike, with exemplary impartiality.

Corollary.—The fruitfulness of example depends on the productive capacity of the mind before which example is held.

Moral.—True solace is that which calms the mind, without bribing the senses; the revenges of un comforted minds are embittered by pampered bodies.

IX.

THE CONVENIENCE OF CONVICTIONS.

In a country wherein the marriage of a man with the sister of his deceased wife was strictly forbidden by the law, a widower named Tarval was devoured by a passion for his sister-in-law during the space of ten years; during which he steadfastly petitioned the State to repeal the law, which it was his custom daily to denounce, with increasing vigour, as an unnatural and immoral restriction. Nor perceived he the incontinence of his desire, which it was his duty to have subjected to reason.

The sister-in-law, who was comely and desirable, constantly repelled her suitor, who, feeling assured of her affection, yet regarding her resistance as an evidence of her purity, grew more and more enamoured of the lady, and more and more earnest in his outcries for the repeal of the law, the enormity of which grew in his eyes, in proportion to the ardour of his love. One day, while treating the woman whom he adored with manifold attentions which she accepted with courtesy, but without warmth, Tarval suddenly made the discovery that her nature was insincere, and that although her opposition to him had been inspired by a conscientious desire to satisfy the demands of duty, yet was she by nature incapable of appreciating or reciprocating an earnest love. Whereupon his passion, which had been fierce, abated, cooling down first into mere indifference, and next into actual contempt. Thereafter, he no longer clamoured for a repeal of the law which

interdicted marriage with the sister of a deceased wife, but on the contrary insisted with much eloquence on its retention as a safeguard of social purity, claiming also for the change in his sentiments all the merit which men attach to honest conversions. "That must indeed be an excellent law," he said, "which having steadfastly abominated for the space of ten years, I have at last learned to admire for its wisdom." And he also observed in a low tone to himself:—"True greatness of soul consists in this, that we be ever ready to sacrifice our prejudices, to confess our errors, and to be instructed by that greatest of all teachers, experience." Thenceforward, Tarval entertained a very poor opinion of his sister-in-law, and an excellent one of himself.

Corollary.—Passion is self-love in disguise.

Moral.—Indifference to genuine passion is self-love without any disguise.

ARGUMENT.

These tales of ancient days instruct men of all times that, in all ages, human nature revolves on the pivot of self. Flesh and blood acquiesce in all laws which disturb the amusements of other people. Foreign intrusion into the domain of self is impertinence, if nothing worse. Display is sweet, especially when misleading. The approbation of multitudes is delicious, and never more so than when it is based on falsehood. Truth loves nothing better than a simple recognition. Honesty is scarce in the world ; hyperbole abundant.

DIOGENES.

ART. IV.—BENGALI MUSIC.

- 1, *Sangit Ratnakar*.
- 2, *Seetar Shikya*.—By Krishnadhun Banerjea : 1873.
- 3, *Sangeeta Sara*.—By Khettra Mohana Gosswamee : 1869.
- 4, *Ghontrokhetodeepika*.—By Kali Prosunno Banerjea : 1873.
- 5, *Sworoleepi*.—By Khettra Mohana Gosswamee.
- 6, *Jateeya Sangit Bishoyak Presstab*.—By Surendra Mohun Tagore : 1871.
- 7, *Ackatana*.

THE first of the books above cited, *Sangit Ratnakar*, was sent down to me officially for report whether it was deserving of Government patronage by purchase, and whether it was fitted for use in schools in Bengal. My official reply of 17th May 1873 gave an opinion on these two points and also a sketch of the grounds of my opinion, and was printed by the Director of Public Instruction to whom it was addressed. Owing to causes, which will appear below, this official report of mine attracted much attention among the Bengalis and was the subject of several long letters in the newspapers. The present article is a re-issue of the substance of my official letter of 17th May 1873, in a somewhat different form ; with a fuller explanation of some points that have been objected to or misunderstood in it.

The other six books cited at the head of this article were sent me as presents, several by Baboo Surendra Mohun Tagore, and I have also received several private letters (some of them very violent ones) on the subject of Bengali musical notation. When I wrote my official letter of 17th May 1873, I had absolutely nothing before me except the *Sangit Ratnakar* (and this makes the coincidence of my general conclusions with those long ago arrived at by Captain Willard the more satisfactory), and it is only from these subsequent presents and letters that I have been made aware that there is a violent struggle now going on among Bengali musicians on the question what musical notation shall be adopted for Bengali music.

The *Sangeeta Sara*, published in 1869, boasts that in it Bengali tunes have for the first time been set down on paper ; and that the notation therein adopted is the invention of its author, Khettra Mohun Gossain. This system of notation is adopted in all the works cited at the head of this article (except the *Seetar Shikya*, which adopts the common European stave). The works, Nos

3, 4, 5, 6, at the heading of this article, are all issued in the finest type and are sent me splendidly bound. They appear to be issued by one party, and I am told that this party is a Nationalist party who wish to have as little to do with European devices as possible. The opposition party say that Seetar Shikya contains more than four times as much in a page as the Bengali notation would contain, and represents, as completely as do the elaborate Bengali treatises, every refinement of Bengali music. And by adopting, if possible, the European stave for the representation of Bengali melodies, the Bengali musicians, of course, would save themselves the labour of learning one notation more. A Bengali who knew no English might play a melody from an English or French piece of music.

The Nationalist party reply that Hindoo music employs smaller divisions of tones than the semitone, and that such smaller divisions cannot be represented on the European stave. In my official report of 17th May 1873, I, not knowing what a great dispute had arisen on this point, merely remarked that the Nationalist notation was cumbrous in the extreme. What I then thought was that, if it was essential to represent quartertones, some modification of the stave would be far preferable to the Nationalist notation. I have now no doubt but that the common European stave can represent fully the Bengali melodies and ought to be generally adopted.

The books cited at the head of this article, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, are collections of tunes merely; and Aekatana is a collection of tunes for one concert, with short explanations of the notation added. But Sangit Ratnakar contains an elementary treatise on music giving the theory of the scale very correctly, and from it I was able to see easily that the Bengali fundamental mode is the same as the European major mode. For Sangit Ratnakar gives the vibration-numbers (or their inverse string lengths, the same thing) of the notes employed. Some Bengalis have been very indignant that I reported Sangit Ratnakar as the first treatise on music in Bengali, whereas Khettra Mohana Gosswamee published his book in 1869. It is true that when I reported Sangit Ratnakar as the *first* treatise on music in Bengali, I was not aware of the existence of Khettra Mohana Gosswamee's works, but my report was correct enough nevertheless. In England, until a comparatively late date, "learning music" always meant the acquiring of a certain habitude and facility of motion in the fingers of a young lady. The commencement of every science lies in definitions: the music books under review (except Sangit Ratnakar) do not even define the intervals of the scale, so that, except by getting a competent person to play over the tunes in them, it would be impossible to discover whether the scale used in Bengali

music was the same used in European music or no. It turns out to be the same, and this scale may possibly have come down from the time before the Yavans split off from the elder Aryan race. But I believe that the division of the scale into twelve semitones and not into any other number is forced by a numerical relation. As this was probably the only original point in my letter of 17th May 1873, I quote from it my demonstration:—

"12. If we take any simple wind instrument whatever, of which we will call the fundamental note CCCC, we find that without employing any valve (or other contrivance for altering the length of the tube), we can blow the following series of notes—:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CCCC	CCC	GGG	CC	EE	GG	BBb	C	D	E	*	G	†	Bb	B	C

The number of these notes we can blow will vary with the perfection and roundness of the instrument; with a post-horn we may blow the first four, perhaps, with a trom-bone the first eight or thereabouts, on a French horn the first 16 or (in a low crook) even more. If we take a string (under constant tension) the fundamental note of which is the same CCCC, we shall find that the string will give by harmonics (*not by stopping*) exactly the same series of notes *and no others intermediate*; and we may verify by observation, that the series corresponds to the breaking up of the string into nodes exactly corresponding to the numbers written over the notes; thus when the string vibrates in 9 equal segments, the note sounded will be D."

"13. The intervals between the lower notes are so wide apart that the only melody that can be produced on them is that of a post-horn or hunting-horn, and the higher notes (numbered 14, 15, 16, &c.) can only be squeezed out of a good horn by great exertion of a skilful performer. It hence comes that the "natural register" of simple instruments in early times lies from GG to G or thereabouts; this is, in fact, the compass of Handel's trumpet and French horn.

"14. This leads naturally to viewing C (No. 8 above) as the key-note of the instrument standing in the middle octave, that actually in use for melodies. This leads us to the inverse regard of the scale, *i.e.*, the doctrine of the grave harmonic, the foundation of modern theory. We observe that in order to compare the near relationship of any particular note to the key-note, we have merely to estimate the shortest multiple string of that which gives C. Thus the string double the length of C (No. 8) will only give the notes of the middle octave C, G; the string four times as long as C (No. 8) will give us GG, BB flat, C, E, G.

"15. This leads us to consider the notes given by the string thrice the length of our C (No. 8); this will give us one new note between E and G (the F of music) which is not exactly our note

(marked as *) which we got by forcing our original string to vibrate in 11 segments, though near it ; and it will also give us another note between C and B flat (the A of music) which is not exactly our note (marked as †) which we got by forcing our original string to vibrate in 13 segments.

“ 16. It is obvious that our new note F, is related to the C above it exactly as our C was related to its G, and that our A is related to the F exactly as our E is related to the C.

“ 17. I here assume the elementary mathematical propositions concerning sound as given in Airy or Helmholtz ; and assuming, therefore, that the number of transverse vibrations per second varies inversely as the length of the string, we have arrived already at the harmonic scale as under—

C	D	E	F	G	A	B flat	B	C
1	$\frac{9}{8}$	$\frac{5}{4}$	$\frac{4}{3}$	$\frac{3}{2}$	$\frac{5}{3}$	$\frac{7}{4}$	$\frac{15}{8}$	2

“ 18. A simple horn can thus, in a practicable part of the instrument, viz., the upper octave, play the whole of this harmonic octave without any key ; provided the open note * $\frac{11}{8}$ be accepted as equivalent to our F $\frac{4}{3}$ (difference of fraction is $\frac{1}{24}$, an error of about 3 per cent in the number of vibrations in the note), and provided the open note † $\frac{13}{8}$ be accepted as equivalent to our A $\frac{5}{3}$ (difference of fraction is again $\frac{1}{24}$, an error of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in the number of vibrations in the note). The musical ear will accept an error not exceeding a comma, which is $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. in the number of vibrations of the note.

“ Practically in playing on wind instruments any one of the open notes can be played 2 or 3 per cent sharp or flat in the lipping, and the production of a *good* F on the trumpet is always a difficulty in the early study of the instrument. On the French horn the same difficulty arises, but the note may be eased with the bell ; in the other note, A, the percentage of error is less, and there are other practical reasons why it is much easier to get it in tune.

“ The theory of the scale on which we are here at work is concerned chiefly with consideration of the F. The trumpet and the French horn of Handel played GG, BB flat, C, D, E, F, G, seven notes only, and they had played these notes for hundreds of years before, perhaps from Greek times, and a question may arise did they originally play our $\frac{4}{3}$ F, or did they not rather play the open note $\frac{11}{8}$. In order that modulation in other keys may be possible, we shall shortly see that it is essential to make the F to be $\frac{4}{3}$ and the A to be $\frac{5}{3}$ (or near thereto), but a music which deals only with melodies, each in a fixed mode, could and perhaps always did accept as the scale the nine notes in paragraph 12 over which I have put the numbers 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. I have found

no Bengali musician who tuned his Sitara with such accuracy that I could hazard any opinion whether his F was intended to be $\frac{11}{8}$ or $\frac{11}{8}$

"19. Our scale now stands so that

C :	E :	G :	C :
1 :	$\frac{5}{4}$:	$\frac{3}{2}$:	2 :
i.e., as	4 :	5 :	8 :

& we have also provided that the ratio

F :	A ::	C :	f
$\frac{4}{3}$:	$\frac{5}{3}$::	2 :	$\frac{8}{3}$
i.e., as	4 :	5 :	8.

So that we have the relation that if we, with an instrument capable of playing our present scale only, commence with F as our fundamental note, a passage involving these notes only, we can play this passage harmonically in tune with F as the fundamental note equally as well as on C.

"20. Similarly if G were our fundamental note we should have

G :	B ::	D :	g
as $\frac{3}{2}$:	$\frac{15}{8}$::	$\frac{9}{4}$:	$\frac{27}{8}$
as 4 :	5 :	6 :	8

so that our scale is so far harmonically intune if we "modulate" till G is our fundamental note. In this case, however, we cannot, out of our existing scale, play the harmonic flat seventh, for C : B flat :: 1 : $\frac{7}{4}$, \therefore the flat seventh to G will be $\frac{21}{8} = 2.625$ not in our scale : but there is in our scale $f = \frac{8}{3} = 2.666$; this differs by about 1.6 per cent in the vibration number, and this error being larger than a comma would be perceptible to a musical ear. A violin player could by stopping the string play either the note $\frac{21}{8}$ or $\frac{8}{3}$, but in an instrument that only plays a fixed number of notes (like a piano) within the octave, it is impossible if it stands in harmonic tune in the key of C, but that it shall be harmonically out of tune in the key of G. This is a simple example of the so-called 'wolf.'

"21. It is commonly stated that the vibration number for the minor third (E flat) is $\frac{8}{3}$ and that for the minor sixth (A flat) is $\frac{15}{8}$: i.e., these notes are taken as harmonics of the string which is five times the length of the fundamental one. All this is extremely doubtful : in practice in modulations from the key of C, perhaps E flat comes in most frequently as the flat seventh to F. The editor of Sangit Ratnakar, is, perhaps, sounder as well as safer in treating these notes (as well as C sharp and F sharp) as filled in (either by the harmonic or the geometric mean) to make the intervals of the scale equal or thereabouts."

"23. It is clear that if we divided the octave into any number n of divisions and our instrument having fixed frets can play n notes and no more, then in order that it may be possible that any

melody may proceed by modulations into other keys, the vibration numbers of the n notes must be $1, 2^{\frac{1}{n}}, 2^{\frac{2}{n}}, 2^{\frac{3}{n}}, \dots$ &c., up to $2^{\frac{n-1}{n}}$,

2. If this is so arranged it is clear that the intervals of $2^{\frac{1}{n}}$ to the several n notes above it will be accurately the same as that of the fundamental note to the several n notes above it. If we take n arbitrarily, our scale will not in general contain the principal harmonic notes related to our fundamental note at all, and no pleasing effect can be produced.

" 24. But if we take the particular value $n=12$ it is a most providential arrangement in nature that our scale so formed will include very nearly indeed, all the important notes of the harmonic octave, and it is this remarkable numerical relation that renders music in the European sense of the term physically possible. Were this not so, modulation would be impossible on instruments with fixed frets, and our melodies would have, like the Hindu, to be written each in a mode.

" 25. It is remarkable that no value of n other than 12 will include the E G and B flat till we get so large a value as 54. An instrument of the harmonium kind has lately been constructed with the octave so divided, and has discoursed music at the Royal Society: but the several notes are then so very close together that the effect is (to musicians of the present age) marvellous rather than pleasing. But the music of a future period may possibly be written in this scale.

" 26. The following represents the scale in use hitherto :—

Note.	Equal temperament, by calculating $2^{\frac{1}{12}}$ &c., to three places of decimals.	Harmonic scale.	Percentage errors in vibration number by employing equal temperament.
C	1	1	0
C sharp	1.059	1.054	.5
D	1.112	1.125	.2
E flat	1.189	1.2	.9
E	1.260	1.25	.8
F	1.334	1.33	.07
F sharp	1.414	1.412	.08
G	1.498	1.5	.1
A flat	1.587	1.6	.8
A	1.682	1.666	.9
B flat	1.782	1.75	1.8
B	1.888	1.875	.7
C	2	2	0

"As the comma, a vibration percentage difference of about 1·2, is the smallest difference distinctly perceptible to musical ears, we are then led to the marvellous result that by tuning on equal temperament ensuring us an unlimited power of modulating backwards and forwards through the whole twelve keys on an organ or piano, we in no case produce a harmonic error sensible to the musical ear except in the one case of the flat seventh, a very important exception.

"In placing harmonic values for many of the notes as C sharp and others, I consider them very arbitrary, and their near coincidence with the equal temperament values proves little ; but in the very important cases of the sub-dominant and dominant the error is only about $\frac{1}{1000}$ of the vibration number.

The harmonic values of C sharp E and B are all minutely flatter than the equal temperament, and as these are all tuned as thirds in the old fashioned way of tuning pianos and organs, the old rule in order to distribute the wolf practically stood, tune your fifths (in the first three keys taken) true, and the thirds a shade sharp ; of late years the absolute equal temperament tuning for pianos, harmoniums, and organs, has come into general use."

Since writing this statement that equal temperament has been generally adopted, I have seen in the London newspapers a letter from Mr. Sims Reeves insisting that accompaniments ought always to be done harmonically in tune. It is true that in performing a comparatively simple ballad, which modulates only into one or two closely allied keys and back again the same way, the effect of doing it all harmonically in tune is delicious ; and with a string accompaniment something very near it is sometimes attained. But it will be quite clear from what follows below that in music with modern elaborate modulations it is impracticable to do it harmonically in tune, even with strings ; and the piano or organ must be tuned on equal temperament, for the old distribution of the wolf was found essential, and was only an imperfect effort to get equal temperament. I lately visited a rather remote mofussil station where the Commissioner's piano had been tuned by a military amateur. He had evidently tuned C sharp, F sharp, G sharp, as harmonic thirds and very accurately ; so that the sharp keys were all right : but in four flats it could hardly be believed that the right chord was struck. In short, though Mr. Sims Reeves may have written to the contrary, I believe that my statement that equal temperament is generally adopted is true.

Supposing that our key note is C ; a European common melody will often employ only the white notes of a piano : this is our common major mode : if the melody modulates into the allied key of the dominant, it will employ probably also F sharp ; and if into the allied key of the sub-dominant, it will employ probably B flat. There are few tunes that have been whistled in the

London streets or sung by English congregations that carry modulation *in the melody* further. That is to say, out of the twelve semi-tones of the scale, our common melodies employ seven notes or at most nine only. And taking C as our key note all our common melodies (*i. e.*, those in the major key) employ the same seven or (generally) the same nine. The seven are reckoning from C, in *semitones*,

1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12.

Now Bengali music employs the same octave and divides it into 12 semi-tones as does the English : and it employs also seven notes only of the octave in simple tunes, nine in more elaborate tunes. Further, the commonest (what I have called the fundamental) Bengali *mode* agrees altogether with the European common mode above.

In European modern music we employ one other mode, the minor mode. In this, taking C as our key note, we also employ seven notes only out of the twelve semi-tones ; these seven being reckoned in semi-tones from C ascending.

1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12

and in melodies written in this mode at least two other notes, *viz.*, the F sharp and B flat, are often introduced in the major mode. Common European melodies, therefore, employ one of these two sets of seven notes : but it is clear that many other sets of seven might be picked : as the following :

1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12

which corresponds to

C, D flat, E, F, G, A flat, B

and in Bengali music this mode is actually in use, and below there is given an example of a tune written in this mode. Indeed the Bengalis in all employ 36 different modes, and this number does not by any means exhaust the combinations which may be selected of seven out of twelve.

I may be excused for offering some explanations here on very elementary points as difficulty has been found with my letter of 17th May 1873. The question of modes is quite different from that of keys. An English simple melody may be written in the key of two flats and then it may be "transposed" into the key of C. It will be found to employ the semi-tones—

1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12

measured from the key note whether the key note is B flat or C, or any other note in the octave. To put this in another form, you cannot find any English piece of music written in the key of two flats where those flats are D flat and A flat and further you cannot transpose any English tune so that it shall employ these two flats only.

I have said above that the *only* mode used in European music besides the common major mode is the *minor* mode. Some musical authorities reckon two "minor" modes, some as many as nine minor modes. The fact is that the European minor mode is not so definitely fixed as is the major; the descending scale is usually taken differently from the ascending which I have given above; but those who admit nine minor modes reckon in some of the very ancient church modes; these have descended to us from the Greek modes, for the Greeks employed a variety of modes as do the Hindoos.

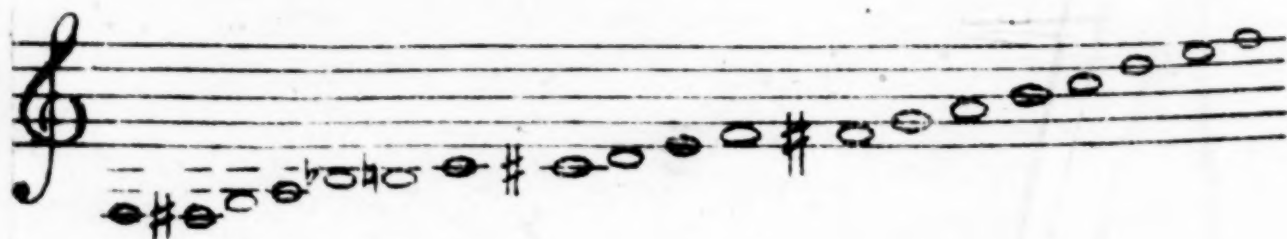
Here I may explain again that I have been "corrected" by some of my critics for using the word "mode" instead of "key" in my letter of 17th May 1873. But I used the word "mode," because I meant exactly by it what the Greek word "mode" means, and something very different from what the word "key" means. My Bengali critics have been misled by the loose (or rather compressed) use of the word "key" in English music. We say that a piece of music is in the key of E minor, by which we really mean that it is in the minor mode and has E for its fundamental or key note. No confusion arises from this compression, as we have only two modes, but when we are thinking of a system which employs 36 modes, I found it advisable to use a more accurate and full form of expression.

In English harmony the intervals are counted, *but not in semi-tones*. Thus the interval of a "sixth" between C and A above it is different from the interval of the "sixth" between E and C above it. By this notation every thing depending on intervals, whether relating to modes, keys, or chords, is obscured. If chords are represented by the semi-tone notation their number is found to be very limited, and the eye recognizes, at a glance, many that in the ordinary notation are repeated under several forms.

Bengali gentlemen learned in music have always told me that English music was very good, as far as it went, but that it was all written in one of two modes, and was therefore deficient in variety as compared with the Hindoo music which employs 36. This statement is much more nearly true than I supposed before I worked through Sangeet Ratnakar. Even in the matter of modulation the Bengali melodies in the fundamental mode employ F sharp and B flat nearly as freely as do common European tunes. It is true that a European melody written in the fundamental mode can introduce and sometimes will introduce all the twelve notes in the octave, whereas the Hindoo tunes cannot; but common European melodies as a class have little more variety than the Bengali melodies in this respect. European music gains its variety by harmony which is scarcely employed in Hindoo music; and it appears historically that as the science of harmony has been elaborated, the ancient modes have gradually fallen into

disuse ; the required variety being supplied by the modulations in the harmony. In Bengali music the only harmony employed is a drone bass : when a Bengali lady played to me Bengali tunes on a harmonium, in the bass she either kept down C the whole time or G the whole time, or played C and G by turns. It is very difficult to understand how the various 36 modes are pleasing to a Hindoo : melodies written in those to which Europeans are unaccustomed appear altogether outlandish to me. I cannot conceive that a European musician could harmonise these ; and Captain Willard long ago wrote that many of these melodies (*i.e.*, those in modes unused in Europe) would baffle the attempts of the most expert contrapuntist to set a harmony to them. On the question, however, whether the superior plan in the abstract is to gain the requisite variety by variety of modes or by modulations in the harmony, it may be difficult to demonstrate that the Hindoo practice is wrong and the European right. Captain Willard evidently thinks that the European inability to enjoy melodies in modes to which they are unaccustomed may be a matter of education : and quotes " we are born with but narrow capacities ; " our minds are not able to master two sets of manners or comprehend with facility different ways of life."

Hindoo music does not employ all possible modes of seven out of twelve notes as we have seen. And Hindoo music is very closely connected with the sitára which may be called the national instrument. It is stringed something like a guitar ; but is fitted with frets, and the strings can only be stopped exactly at these frets. The instrument, therefore, cannot play note like a fiddle but only isolated notes like a piano, each note separated by a definite fixed interval from the next. Some sitáras are made to play the whole 12 notes in the octave, and they are of course made with fixed frets. But the frets are then inconveniently close together, and the standard common sitara has some fixed some moveable frets : and when it stands in the fundamental mode, the upper string can play the notes here shown (the lower strings are hardly used except as a drone accompaniment).



The frets which are only a semi-tone apart are fixed : where there are intervals of a tone, the frets are made to shift. Thus when the sitára stands in the fundamental mode, it can *only* play the above notes ; it cannot play D flat for instance. But when it is wished to play a tune that stands in the mode of C, D flat, E, F, G, A flat, B,

the two frets for D and A are each shifted down the neck of the instrument before the playing commences, and remain down during the whole performance of that tune. The sitára thus stands in the mode : and can be made to stand in any one of the 36 modes employed in Hindoo music. This connection between the sitára and the modes in use renders it certain that either the modes are derived from the sitára, or that the sitára has been invented to play these particular modes. This latter seems to me highly improbable ; and I stated in my letter of 17th May 1873 that the modes in use in Bengal are all derived from the sitára. One Bengali gentleman in a letter printed in a newspaper made a criticism on this worth preserving. He said my statement was quite wrong, because (as he proceeded to show in detail), the *names* of the modes are derived from those of Hindoo gods, &c. This Baboo's criticism is a curious instance of the delight with which the Hindoo mind tries to reduce everything to a question of words. In what sense this Boboo could have imagined that I supposed the names of 36 modes derived from the word sitára it is impossible to explain. Many a Baboo will hold a long argument with you in words maintaining that the banyan and peepul are male and female, and you will find it about as difficult to get him to define what he means by male and female as to induce him to examine the figs.

Three illustrative melodies are printed at the end of this article. The first two are taken from Sangit Ratnakar, being translated into English notation in my report of 17th May 1873 : the third is selected from Seetar Shikhya.

The first tune is in the fundamental mode, *i.e.*, the common major mode, and consists of two corresponding phrases of eight bars each, and each of these is again divisible into two parts of four bars each. All the sets of four bars so formed are constructed on a corresponding rhythm as to the time : at the end of the third and commencement of the fourth division the melody reaches a kind of climax, and that some climax of this kind should occur in this part of the tune appears very general in Bengali melodies. The peculiar arrangement of the time which occurs in the eighth bar from the beginning is also very characteristic of the Bengali tunes. It is repeated, for instance, three times in the second tune transcribed, and gives a hurried effect to the final

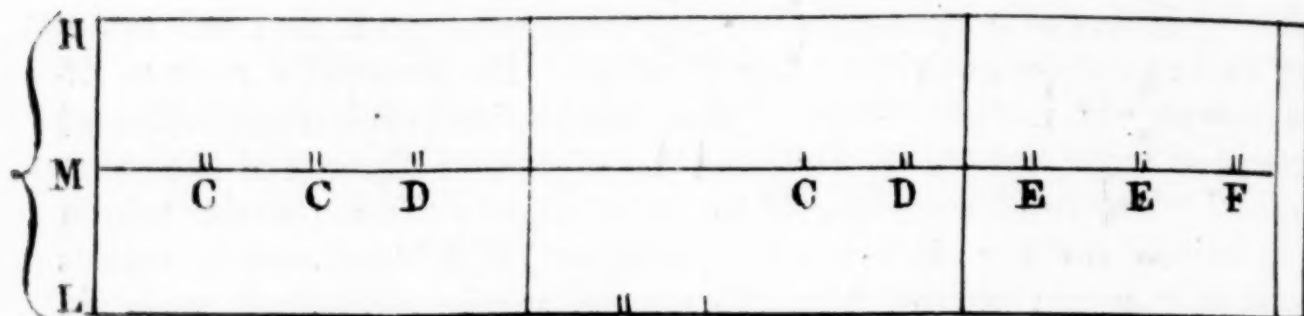
cadences. In European music the final cadence is generally arranged, so that we fall on the tonic at the first beat in the bar: in Bengali music the cadence is generally squeezed up so as to conclude on the fourth (up) beat of the bar.

This first tune transcribed illustrates another curious feature of Bengali melodies. It is in the fundamental mode and in the key of C, but it both commences and ends on B. In a Hindoo tune in the key of C there seems no disposition whatever to begin or end on the tonic: they seem to begin and to end on any note of the scale indifferently. In European melodies we end nearly always on the tonic and we begin on the tonic dominant or more rarely on the third. In the first tune transcribed, the second-half has a kind of swing in it to European ears provided the last note B be simply omitted and it be made to close on the C preceding. That a final cadence which does not close on the tonic should be as satisfactory to the Bengali ear as one that does, raises again the question whether the difference between European and Bengali taste in the matter arises merely from education and perhaps from inheritance, or whether it may not be possible to prove that the final cadence on the tonic is right by the nature of things, and the Bengali practice a perversion or degradation. I expressed formerly no opinion on this point, and it seems to me it would be very difficult to prove that the European idea was absolutely right, and the Bengali idea absolutely wrong in this instance. In singing, the European likes the clear full tone of the voice, the Bengali likes it "very sweetly" and through the nose. Perhaps even this is a mere question of taste also. Nothing is so repugnant to the Hindoo mind as any absolute conclusion. He likes to say on every possible point, "Well, I know that Europeans think so, but *we* think the contrary." He is quite liberal and willing to allow you your opinion, and only asks to be allowed to hold his own. Where he fails is that his love for leaving every question suspended appears to prevent his perceiving that on many points there must be absolute truth on one side or on the other. When he does perceive this, he instinctively shrinks from facing it. This tendency of the Bengali mind has been finely illustrated to me a hundred times in discussions on the native performance of music: for many Bengalis will maintain that the performance of a tune is done better by native than by European singers. It is little use that you explain to them that the question whether the intervals are taken correctly is not a matter of taste but a question of fact. A native performer tries to rise an octave an interval of all others that demands to be taken accurately in tune, and will take it a quarter of a note flat nearly and then shiver on it. The Hindoo listener will sit and approve and enjoy it all the same. You may explain that

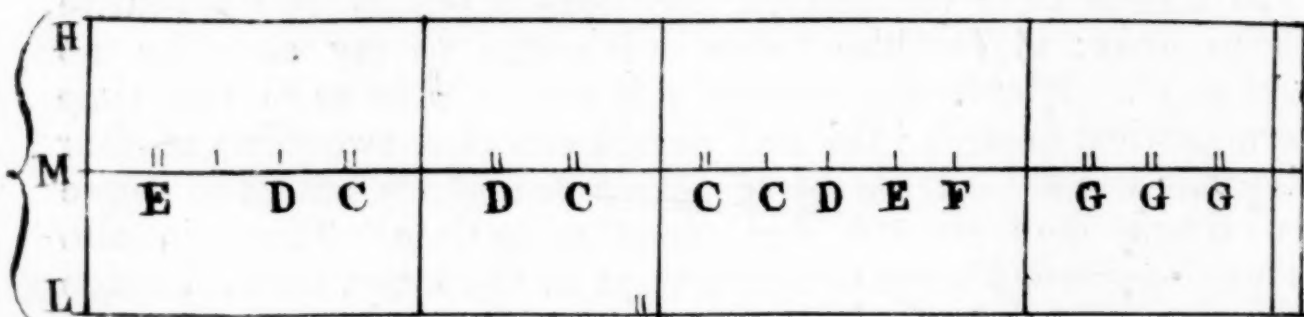
the siren (and many other instruments of precision) can measure the number of vibrations in a note, and can show when an octave is taken in tune, and can show exactly what percentage of the vibration number of the note the error amounts to when the second note is taken incorrectly. You may explain, therefore, that the question is one of correctness or incorrectness and not of taste. But I have rarely convinced my Hindoo. He generally says as of the banyan and peepul, "I know that Europeans think them different kinds of tree; but *we* think them the male and female of the same tree." In the discussions on the theory of the scale which have arisen on my letter of 17th May 1873, the Bengali critics again and again write "In European music such and such is the case," when the statement is in fact a merely numerical one and applies to all music whatever.

The second tune transcribed for illustration is in a favourite Bengali mode; and all the tunes in it sound to my ears like no music at all. The arrangement of this second tune as to the time is symmetrical enough; the first phrase contains two parts of four bars each; the second phrase contains four bars, and the three sets of four bars exactly correspond as to time. There is also a kind of correspondence between them in the intervals as though they were arranged in some primitive sort of canon, but I do not think there is much real approximation thereto. The outlandish mode in which the tune stands renders it very difficult to judge.

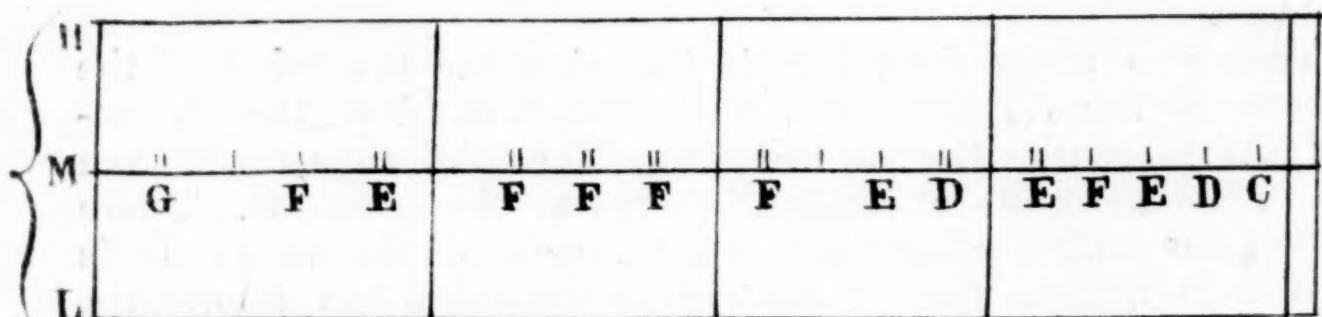
These two tunes from *Sangit Ratnakar* are somewhat of the nature of musical exercises, but they show fairly the character of the favourite Bengali melodies. The third tune taken from *Seetar Shikhya* quite at random belongs to the same *jât*. There is the same kind of climax at the same point of the tune. It is written in a mode that I believe no European can appreciate, viz., one flat that being D, which makes the final cadences queer. I have now travelled over most of the ground covered by my letter of 17th May 1873, and I now turn to the new points that have turned up in the criticism of that letter. The one that has been debated most warmly is that of the merits of the newly invented Bengali notation. These can be judged at a glance by the following which is reprinted *verbatim* from *Ackatana* and exactly gives the new Bengali musical notation in English letters:—

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

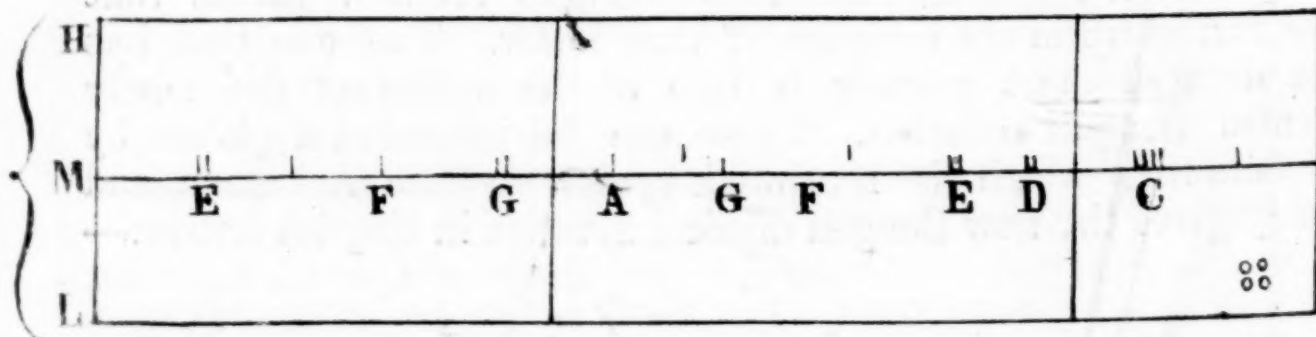
God save our gra — cious Queen, Long live our



no — ble Queen, God save the Queen. Send her vic-



to — ri-ous, Happy and glo — ri-ous, Long to reign



O — ver us God save the Queen.

It is unnecessary to comment on the crudeness of this scheme of musical notation. The occasional flats and sharps have to be marked above the uppermost line, as well as the various seurs and wobbles which are so freely employed in Bengali tunes.

The Nationalists who have been lately writing in the newspapers defend the Bengali notation (which by the way is not *the* Bengali notation, but an invention of four years' age taken up by a small but rich party in Calcutta) solely on the assertion that English music employs semi-tones only, that C sharp is the same as D flat in English music; and that consequently the English notation cannot represent the shrooti (miscalled by these writers quarter tones) used in Bengali music.

To this it is quite a sufficient answer to say that as the shrooti, whatever they are, have to be represented in the new Bengali notation by additional marks written above the notes, they can be similarly expressed by marks written above the stave of the English notation, and they are in fact so expressed in the Seetar Shikhya without any difficulty whatever, as everybody seems to admit except the small rich party interested in the Bengali notation.

I will, however, go more fully into the two strictly musical questions of the shrooti and of the statements that have occurred (in so many different forms) in the Bengali criticisms upon me that "in English music G sharp is the same as A flat."

Taking the middle octave of the Bengali scale Moodara, the distance from C to D is measured by the ratio of their vibration numbers, i.e., as 1 is to $\frac{9}{8}$: the distance from G to A similarly as $\frac{3}{2}$ is to $\frac{5}{4}$, i.e., as 1 is to $\frac{10}{9}$: and the distance from A to B as $\frac{5}{4}$ is to $\frac{15}{8}$, i.e., as 1 is to $\frac{9}{8}$. That is the interval from C to D is harmonically exactly the same as that from A to B, while the interval from G to A is a little less. They are all taken as intervals of one tone each, and all my Bengali opponents speak of each interval as one tone. Now the tone from C to D is divided into four shrooti; the tone from G to A is divided into three shrooti and the tone from A to B into two shrooti. I therefore ask what is a shrooti: is it a "quarter tone" as my opponents usually denominate it: or is it sometimes a quarter tone, sometimes the third of a tone? If the latter alternative is selected, I think it may be demonstrated that music on such a scale is impossible.

I ask further how many shrooti are there between C and D in Tara, the upper octave, and how many between A and B in Udara, the lower octave? And in answering this question it must be recollected that the distance from C to D or (from A to B) is the same in every octave.

I ask further, if between G and A the distance is divided into three shrooti, does any one of the shrooti intervals coincide with

the semi-tone, or do the three shrootis divide the interval from G to A into three equal intervals?

This leads us back to definitions. My Bengali critics assert that I do not understand what shrooti (or very sharp, very flat) is in Bengali music. How can I if the shrooti are not defined? I want to discover the vibration number of these smaller intervals. Sangit Ratnakar gives the vibration number for the larger intervals so that I can understand exactly where he is; but he does not attempt this in the case of very sharp, very flat and shrooti, and (as, indeed, I suspected before) for a very good reason. But my Bengali critics, while they go on piling heaps of hard terms about shrooti, &c., also omit altogether to define that of which they say I fail to discover the accurate meaning. Perhaps it is hardly fair that I should call on these gentlemen to state the vibration numbers of these shrootis, as I perceive they have not yet understood what equal temperament is. It is also impossible to challenge any Bengali performer to exhibit the shrooti on a sitara, for there are no frets on the sitara at the shrooti intervals so that the shrooti can only be performed by flicking the string, *i.e.*, altogether uncertainly. But let us treat the question practically: can *any* Bengali singer be produced who can sing the quarter-tones between C and D and afterwards the third-tones between G and A? I will not say produced before me, as I am about to pledge myself to a total disbelief in the whole thing, but before any competent professor of music as Mr. Frye.

I shall be excessively surprised if any one Bengali singer can be produced who can even make the faintest approximation to success in such a feat, and I have heard many Bengali singers who appear to cause the greatest delight to Bengali musical audiences and whom I have been assured are among the most admired singers in all Bengal.

What I believe can be done is this: In playing the sitara the string can be flicked out, so that instead of a steady C we can have a sound that rises to the quarter-tone above (there or thereabouts) and descends again by a rapid slur to the C. This flicking of the string may accompany half the notes of a tune and produces the "twanging" effect which (to say the least of it) is highly disagreeable to English ears.

I feel convinced that the idea of shrooti has been arrived at from a mistaken induction, *i.e.*, by comparison of the distance apart of the frets of a sitara, and supposing that the harmonic interval between C and D bore the same ratio to the harmonic interval between A and B as the distance between the frets for C and D bore to the distance between the frets for A and B. A simple blunder. As to importing the shrooti into the squabble between the two notations, the progressive party says roundly

that it is merely an attempt to throw dust in the eyes: and it looks exceedingly like it.

I now turn to the assertion of my Bengali critics that C sharp is D flat and G sharp is A flat, &c., in English music. Now all that my antagonists mean by these assertions is that C sharp must be played as D flat on an ordinary English piano or harmonium tuned on equal temperament, and this is a mere repetition of words because the object of tuning a piano on equal temperament is that a note that is neither C sharp nor D flat may be played as either.

This misconception is almost part of the one I have explained above: the harmonic intervals are fixed by nature: it is no question of English music or of any other particular music, but a numerical one. Probably my Bengali friends will be surprised to hear that C sharp is never the same as D flat, that in instruments like violins that can be stopped any where, a note is played for D flat different from that played for C sharp and that as long ago as 1851 there was in the great Exhibition an organ with "buttons" between the black and white notes, so that a different note might be played for D flat from that played for C sharp. This organ did not succeed for reasons which will appear plain below. In passing let me ask my Bengali critics, if there is no difference between G sharp and A flat, why have European musicians persisted in using two symbols for one and the same thing?

The numerical matter is simple enough, and my Bengali readers must not suppose that I imagine that I am writing something new in shortly explaining it. From C to E is four semi-tones and from E to G sharp is four semi-tones; therefore to find the vibration number of G sharp (thus defined as the major third to E, using English phraseology) we have

As 1 is to $\frac{5}{4}$ so is $\frac{5}{4}$ to the G sharp vibration number, i.e., G sharp = $\frac{25}{16} = 1.562$ which is a number somewhere between G = 1.5 and A = 1.666. Starting fresh, from C to B flat is ten semi-tones and from B flat to the A flat in the upper octave is ten semi-tones also. Therefore (defining A flat as the flat seventh to B flat, using English notation) we have

As 1 is to $\frac{7}{4}$ so is $\frac{7}{4}$ to the upper A flat vibration number, i.e., the upper A flat = $\frac{49}{16}$ and putting it down an octave by dividing by 2; A flat = $\frac{49}{32} = 1.531$, a number lying between our G and A, but considerably different from what we got for G sharp.

If, with the author of Sangit Ratnakar, we take G sharp midway between the harmonic G and A we have

$$G \text{ sharp} = \sqrt{\frac{3}{2} \times \frac{5}{3}} = \sqrt{2.5} = 1.58$$

and the English-piano-on-equal-temperament-G sharp is from my old letter 1.587.

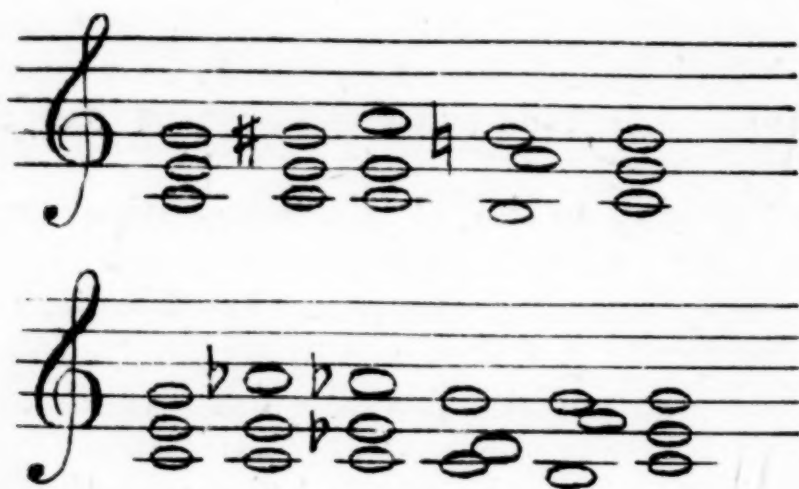
We have already, therefore, got a harmonic G sharp different from our harmonic A flat; but there are an infinite number of ways of

modulating from the key of C so as to arrive at an A flat, and from the existence of the "wolf" it follows that these different routes generally lead to a different A flat. It follows again from this that if proceeding from C you modulate by one route to one of these A flats, and then modulate back again by another route you will arrive at a different C if you take all your intervals harmonically true. No instrument therefore with fixed frets can possibly play strictly in tune harmonically, however many frets there are: hence the organ of the 1851 Exhibition above referred to proved a failure, and in pianos the almost universally adopted plan is to tune on equal temperament or at least to distribute the "wolf" by guess as equally as possible. Owing to the infinite number of harmonic notes that may be arrived at harmonically between G and A violins practically only make a difference between G sharp and A flat under particular circumstances and assumptions. By G sharp is understood the major third to E [which is also the leading note to A harmonically: for

[G sharp ($\frac{2}{3}\frac{5}{8}$) : A ($\frac{1}{3}\frac{5}{8}$) :: B ($\frac{1}{3}\frac{5}{8}$) : upper C (2)]

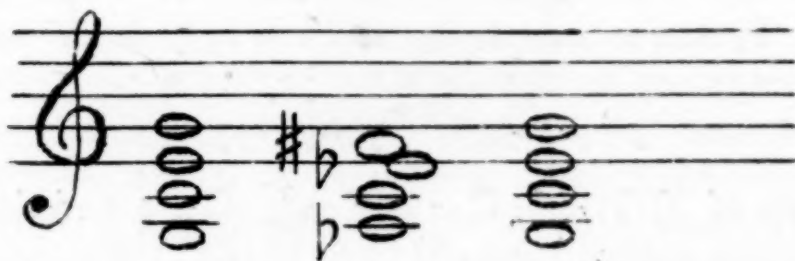
"And by A flat is meant the depressed sixth."

To show the use quite clearly, I will give two simple series of chords which start from the common chord in C, modulate so as to bring in *directly* this particular G sharp and A flat, and then return to the fundamental C chord.



In these two series the first two chords in each are identical on the ordinary piano, but they are written differently, because on the violin (or in singing) a different note would be given as G sharp from that given for A flat. For the G sharp, the leading note to A ($= 1.562$) would be given; for the A flat some note very much flatter than the equal temperament note ($= 1.587$) would be given though probably not so extremely flat a note as the A flat $= 1.531$, which we have calculated above.

I have selected this particular example, because many people imagine that it is always right to mark G sharp when it occurs as an occasional in any sharp key, and to mark the same note as A flat when it occurs as an occasional in any flat key. This is a good general rule, and many English piano-players imagine that it only means that a pleasing regularity is to be maintained to the eye by not mixing occasional flats and sharps in the same chord. The following series of chords is, however, very common and will break down this idea :—



Here starting from a common chord in C we proceed direct to one in which two flat notes and one sharp note occur: and the more correct writers always write the chord with an F sharp, not with a G flat when it occurs in this position. The chord is here really the chord of the flat seventh in the key of A flat: thus

[A A flat) = half A flat = $\frac{4}{8}$, C = 1, E flat = $\frac{6}{8}$.]

and we will take our F sharp or G flat or whatever it may be = $\frac{7}{8}$

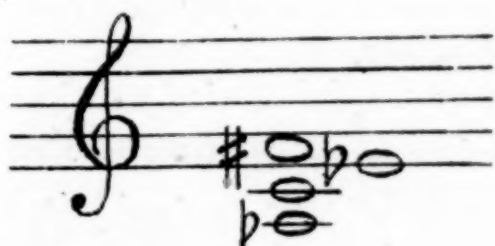
We then have A A flat is to C is to E flat is to G flat

as $\frac{4}{8}$ is to 1 is to $\frac{6}{8}$ is to $\frac{7}{8}$

as 1 is to $\frac{5}{4}$ is to $\frac{3}{2}$ is to 7

as C is to E is to G is to B flat

so that our rather complicated looking chord



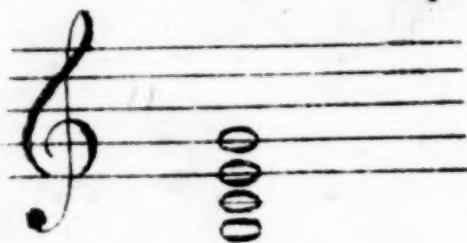
is merely the common chord of the flat seventh on A flat as fundamental note instead of on C.

But to make it this we have taken our F sharp (or G flat as we have not yet settled how it ought to be marked) = $\frac{7}{8}$ = 1.4. Now our harmonic F sharp in the key of C major always means the major third to D which is equal to the leading note to G.

For major third to D is $\frac{9}{8} \times \frac{5}{4} = \frac{45}{32}$ and leading note to G is to G ($\frac{3}{2}$) as B ($\frac{1}{2}$) is to upper C (2) whence also leading note to G = $\frac{45}{32}$.

Therefore we mean by F sharp, $\frac{45}{32} = 1.406$ which only differs by six-thousandths from the very note we want to complete the chord under debate. We cannot, in fact, by any simple definition denote any G flat which comes so near the harmonic note we want so that we correctly write F sharp as above stated.

To diverge for a minute into harmony the chord



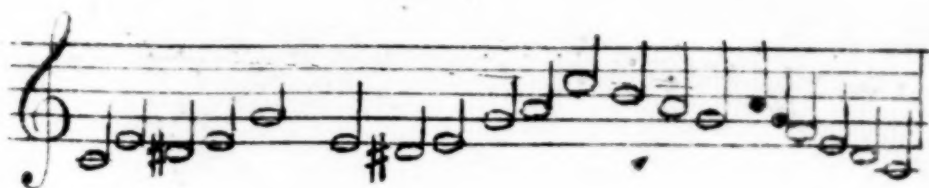
is made up of $(GG) = \frac{3}{4}$, $C = 1$, $E = \frac{5}{4}$, $G = \frac{3}{2}$ and therefore the string whose length is four times that of C (*i.e.*, the string which gives the note CCC, contains among its harmonics (called overtones by Tyndal) all the notes of the chord : therefore CCC is the fundamental root of the chord, and as it is not very remote from any of the notes of the chord, the chord is a simple one. Similarly the other chord is made up of $(AA \text{ flat}) = \frac{4}{5}$, $C = 1$, $E \text{ flat} = \frac{6}{5}$, $F \text{ sharp} = \frac{7}{5}$, and therefore the string whose length is five times that of C, *i.e.*, the string which gives the note (AAAAA flat) contains among its overtones all the notes of the chord, is not very remote from any of the notes of the chord which is thus again a simple one. And in the progression of the three chords the fundamental bass note merely moves through a major third and back again: (or as it may be put in another form) the string (AAAAAA flat) would contain among its overtones all the notes of both chords, hence the progression is not very complex or harsh to the ear as it would be were the fundamental notes of the chords less nearly related to each other.

The effect of the remoteness of the sub-harmonic root of a chord may be easily recognized by comparing the two subjoined arrangements of the common chord :—

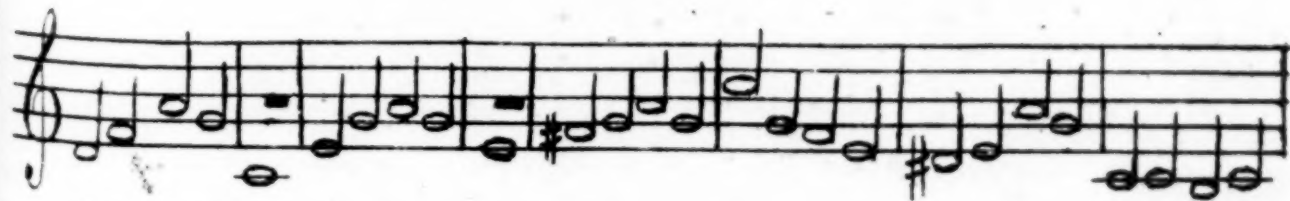


the second of which the ear at once accepts as fuller and more pleasant than the first. The reason being that the root of the first is CC (*i.e.*, the string C C gives among its harmonics all the notes in the chord) the root of the second is CCC. In the organ a mild quint will sometimes produce quite the effect of a double : *i.e.*, if to a heavy 16 feet a somewhat lighter eight feet and a lighter four feet you add a much lighter $10\frac{2}{3}$, the mind is so impressed by hearing the harmonics which would infallibly accompany the 32 feet were it played that it imagines to itself the 32 feet as being actually played when it is not.

I should add a caution that, in the above, when I speak of Hindoo melodies or Bengali tunes, I include only the class of music contained in the books cited at the head of the article. I especially do *not* include the melodies of the Hindoo boatmen which are of a totally different character. They are all in either the major or minor mode : they end on the tonic or occasionally with a cadence to the dominant (as do many of the Scotch national tunes) they commence on the tonic or fifth or less often on the third ; and they employ occasional sharps and flats *that could not be played on the sitara* : as in the following opening phrase of a favourite boat-chant :—

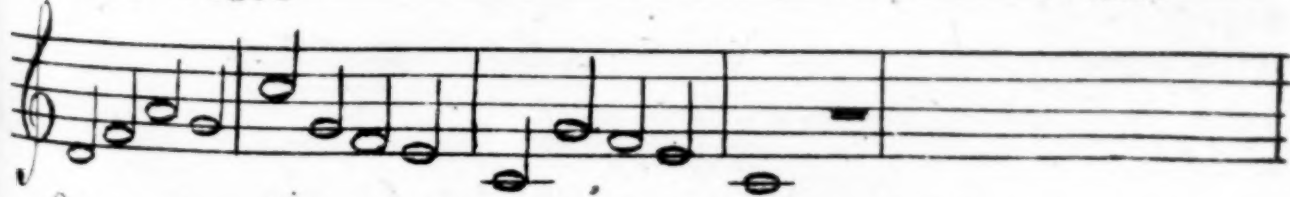


or in the following ; in which, of course, the stroke of the oar comes on the first beat of each bar.



One voice

All



One voice All

I think most Europeans who take the trouble to compare this with the best specimens in Sangeeta Sara &c will readily credit my statement in my letter of 17th May 1873, (which appears to have much angered my Bengali critics) viz., that "while all "Hindoo musicians speak with contempt and almost abhorrence "of the boatmen's songs, I have heard many Europeans declare "that the boatmen's chants are the only music in Bengal "that can properly be called music."

I may add that the boatmen often sing very nicely in tune though their voices may be rough and their style uncultured, so that whatever the value of their melodies may be they gain much in the performance as compared with the performance of Bengali professional singers.

I could never make out the words that are sung to these boatmen's tune's, nor could I get anything that I could understand by making the boatmen repeat them. When, therefore, I had travelling in my boat Koylash Chunder Sain (Additional Deputy Inspector of Schools in Dacca) I got the boatmen to repeat the words to him. Koylash Chunder told me that the words were Sanskrit, that the boatmen very imperfectly understood them themselves, and gave me some account of the legend, of which I took no note. I mention this in detail, because, in my letter of 17th May 1873, I stated that my boatmen sang Sanskrit words, and some Baboo has written a letter to a newspaper in which he denies that boatmen ever sing Sanskrit songs. I know no Sanskrit, but I have known Koylash Chunder Baboo a good many years, and I think it highly improbable either that he was mistaken in the fact or that he purposely misled me.

The discussion that has arisen in the Bengali newspaper on Hindu music is entirely one of words except the struggle over the new notation. Their music-books abound in words and classifications of melodies. Then there are the arrangements of tunes according to seasons and the hours of the day. The amount of musical science that lies behind the cloud of words and prolix antiquarianism is very small. The Bengali writers continually refer to English "musical science," but no Bengali writer, whom I have read, can ever have opened any treatise on music whatever from Albrechtsberger to Ouseley; they understand by English music the notes on a harmonium and the explanation of the notation. They say that as to Hindoo music C. B. Clarke knows nothing about it, nor does he in their sense. I know nothing about the names and words; as to the music itself I have arrived at the conclusion that I understand as much as is worth knowing about it, and that nobody will ever get much more that is any use out of the Hindoo science of music than has been got out of other Sanskrit sciences. In this remark, again, I do not include the

boatmen's songs, of which I should like to see printed a good selection.

The present article has run to some length and is not very logically arranged. I therefore append here a short abstract of conclusions.

Hindoo music employs the ordinary European notes. It employs melody only without harmony. It uses, besides the major and minor modes, thirty four other modes not used in European music nor appreciated by European ears. Hindoo melodies do not require a final cadence on the tonic or on any note in particular. All this was contained in my letter of 17th May 1873, and had been, it appears, all discovered long ago by Captain Willard. The only original thing in my letter of 17th May 1873, was the attempt to show that it is not a matter of chance that so many people have divided the octave into 12 (and not any other number of) semi-tones.

In the present article I have in addition concluded that the Nationalist Bengali musical notation is valueless and ought to be superseded at once by the stave. I have explained the difference between G sharp and A flat, which is by no means new. And I have given the method of finding the root of a chord by least common multiple which has, I believe, never been published before.

C. B. CLARK, M.A.

The semiquavers indicate passing notes merely.

TUNE 1.**TUNE 2.****TUNE 3**

ART. V.—THE RICE TRADE OF THE WORLD.

- 1.—*Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and British Possessions, in the year 1870. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London : 1871.*
- 2.—*Trade and Navigation Returns of Bengal for 1872-73, and previous years. Published by the Custom House, Calcutta.*
- 3.—*Report on the Trade and Customs of British Burmah for 1871-72, and for 1872-73. Rangoon : 1872, and 1873.*
- 4.—*Published and Unpublished Papers of the Financial Department of the Government of India.*
- 5.—*McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary ; New Edition : 1871.*
- 6.—*Balfour's Cyclopædia of India, &c. Madras : 1873.*
- 7.—*Trade Circulars and Reviews.*

IN an article which was published in the last number of this *Review*, the writer brought together a few facts, which had been collected chiefly from official sources, regarding the internal traffic and distribution of rice within the Bengal Provinces. It was then suggested to him that it would be especially interesting to extend those inquiries and, if possible, place within a convenient compass such general information as could be acquired regarding the Rice Trade not of Bengal only, but of the World. The present article is accordingly an attempt to comply with that suggestion. The attempt is an extremely imperfect one, owing partly to the difficulty of procuring accurate figures and facts in Calcutta which would be easily accessible in London, and partly owing to the writer's not having had the leisure to give to such an interesting and important subject full justice. This article has no pretensions to completeness, and can only be offered as a statistical contribution which may perhaps introduce a more thorough and exhaustive treatment at another time. It is indeed a circumstance of surprise that an authoritative Manual on a topic of such consequence as the Rice Trade should not already have been published, but the writer is not aware of the existence of any work of such a nature.

"The cultivation of rice," writes Dr. Balfour, "prevails in all the river valleys and on all the coasts of Eastern and Southern Asia ; it is a common article of subsistence in various countries bordering on the Mediterranean ; it is grown in the Japan islands, on all the sea coasts of China, the Philippine, and other large islands of the Indian Archipelago, in Ceylon, Siam, India, on both shores of the Red Sea, in Egypt, on the shores of the

Distribution of rice cultivation in the world and out-turn per acre.

Mozambique Channel, in Madagascar, in some parts of Western Africa, South Carolina, and Central America."

The cultivation of rice is not indigenous to America. It was first introduced in South Carolina from seeds brought from Madagascar near the end of the seventeenth century, but, from the careful cultivation to which it was subjected, it soon very far surpassed in quality and yield the produce of the mother country. The yield per acre of Carolina rice has been estimated to vary from twenty to sixty bushels, each bushel weighing about 45lbs. when cleaned. Each acre, therefore, yields an average of about 1,800lbs. of cleaned rice or more than 2,500lbs. of paddy. Under favourable circumstances, as much as ninety bushels have been raised from an acre or about 6,000lbs. of paddy. Carolina rice is sown in the spring and reaped in September.

Rice has been sown in the South of France near Bordeaux, and the experiment has proved a perfectly successful one. At Munzo in New Granada, the paddy-fields, which are not inundated, under the influence of a mean temperature, are said to yield one hundred-fold. At Piedmont in Italy and the plains of Lombardy, where the cultivation is extensive, it is said that the cultivators generally use about fifty pounds of seed per acre, and the usual return of a rice-field is reckoned at more than 2,500lbs. of paddy or about fifty for one. In Egypt, on the West coast of Africa and the islands of Bourbon, Mauritius, and Madagascar, rice is cultivated on damp soils, but not to any large extent.

In Europe, America, and Africa the cultivation of rice is, however, comparatively insignificant. It is in the inter-tropical countries of Asia that rice is of the very first importance, occupying the same place as wheat and oats and rye in Europe. Over the sea-boards of the peninsulas of India and China, in Japan and some of the Eastern islands, it holds undisputed sovereignty.

In India generally, it has been said, rice is produced in every variety of soil, at every altitude and in every latitude. On an average estimate the yield of one acre of rice in the fertile soil of Eastern Bengal has been taken to be about twenty-seven maunds of paddy or 2,214lbs.* Rather less than two maunds or about 160lbs. would be the amount of seed required in these provinces for sowing an acre; and the produce may, therefore, be estimated at thirteen or fourteen-fold. The writer, however, does not doubt that this is rather an over estimate for ordinary Bengal produce. Twenty maunds of paddy or say twelve maunds of rice per acre is really a very good average outturn and a yield of seven-fold is an average beyond which few cultivators on an ordinary soil venture to calculate. In the North-West Provinces the average

* In the Soonderbun swamps of 36 maunds or nearly 3,000lbs. of Jessore the average yield is given at paddy.

yield of rice is reported to be little over ten or twelve maunds of paddy per acre or from 500 to 800lbs. of cleaned rice. In the Punjab the out-turn is estimated at 550lbs.; in Oudh at 649; in the Central Provinces at 207, and in Mysore at 1,577lbs. of rice per acre. It is presumed that these calculations are in cleaned rice, as it is impossible to suppose that there can be so small a yield as this of paddy or rice unhusked. The Mysore estimate, however, is apparently in paddy. In Mr. Dalyell's Memoir on the Famine of 1866, it is asserted that the Revenue Settlement Department of Madras after inquiries and experiments, extending over ten years, had estimated that an acre of unirrigated land in the Madras Presidency produces on the average a yield of about 5 cwt. or 560lbs., and that an acre of irrigated land produces 10 cwt. or 1,120lbs. of cleaned rice. The yield of paddy is said to be double the yield of cleaned rice. In Sindh the out-turn of an acre is estimated at from 900 to 1,200lbs. of paddy.

In British Burmah it is reported that one acre will produce from fifty to one hundred baskets (maunds $32/8$ to $65/6$,—2,700 to 5,400lbs.) of paddy according to the class of land. On the best land somewhat less than one basket (54lbs.) of paddy will plant an acre; while on inferior land it takes more. The yield of paddy in British Burmah is, therefore, from fifty to a hundred-fold. The average on the Tenasserim coast is said to be only twenty-fold. In Siam, Cochin-China, and Java it is a common practice to exact two crops of rice yearly from the same soil, one in April and one in October, and an English-acre in Java so cultivated has been found to yield an annual produce of 560lbs. of cleaned rice. In the same island an acre of good land yielding annually one green crop and a crop of rice was found to produce 941lbs. of clean grained rice or about 1,250lbs. of paddy.

It would not be difficult to reproduce many other calculations that have been made out of the out-turn per acre and of the remunerative quality of rice cultivation. To do so, however, does not fall within the scope of this paper, and it would, it is feared, be of little use, as the calculations are little better than estimates, and are often evidently very inaccurate. The writer will only say that the whole subject demands a more careful investigation and more attention than has hitherto been bestowed on it.

EXPORTS. CAROLINA RICE.

Small produce and
Exports.

Compared with the extent of its cultivation in the Eastern Hemisphere, the cultivation of rice in the United States of America has never been large. The American rice crop in 1843, which was the largest that had then been known, reached 40,125 tons. The largest crop that ever was known was in 1847 when 51,839 tons of South Carolina rice were raised. In 1848 the produce

reached 162,058 tierces or 47,026 tons in market of which 160,330 tierces or 46,524 tons were exported from South Carolina. But small as the American rice crop has always been, comparatively speaking, it has much decreased in quantity since the civil war. A letter from Mr. H. P. Walker, Her Majesty's Consul at Charleston, published in the *Times* of February 6th, 1874, contains some interesting information on this point. Mr. Walker's calculations are made in tierces but the writer has reduced them to tons.* It appears that the entire average rice produce of the United States in 1870, 1871, and 1872 was only 12,364 tons, of which 9,741 tons were exported. The produce of 1873 was 14,294 tons, of which 10,932 tons were exported. The quantities exported were sent to the northern ports of the United States in part, and by rail, into the interior, in other part—in the proportions of about three-fourths to the first, and one-fourth to the last. The diminished yield of rice in Carolina is attributable to a variety of causes of which the foremost is said to be that the Southern States have not yet sufficiently recovered from the war to continue their rice cultivation. "Even were it prudent," writes the Charleston Consul, "to plant a crop without possessing any power to control the necessary labour—without any assurance that those who might plant would remain to reap—there is the further difficulty that the plantation cannot be conducted without much outlay. Funds for the purpose have generally been supplied by a factor on the credit of the crop to be produced. The capital employed in banking, before the war between the States amounted in Charleston to \$13,000,000 in gold. At the termination of the war there was nothing so employed. But since then such capital has gradually increased, till its present volume is as much as two millions and a half of dollars of like value, but it is, nevertheless, deficient still to the extent of ten millions and a half of dollars. Under these circumstances the facilities of bank customers, among whom the factors must be enumerated, are not equal by four-fifths to those enjoyed before the war. It is a matter of wonder that so much as a half of the rice lands formerly in cultivation still yield their accustomed annual returns, rather of complaint, that only so little is utilized; for the owners of the lands without the usual assistance given by the factors, cannot possibly in the present state of the labour of the rice section, undertake their cultivation." In addition, however, to the reason given by Mr. Walker, it is evident that the falling off of the

* All calculations in weight have throughout this article been reduced to tons. The tierce which is used in the United States has been taken at 650lbs., the maund in India at 82½lbs.,

and the pioul in use in the Eastern Archipelago at 133lbs. The figures of the official English and Indian returns have in like manner been reduced from cwts. to tons.

American trade is largely attributable to the increased supply of rice from Bengal and Burmah, and to the comparatively lower rates at which the Indian produce can be placed in the home markets. The rice cultivation has moreover been displaced by the growing cultivation in America of cotton, tobacco, cereals, and other articles yielding a more profitable return. But be this as it may, the fact remains that the condition of American rice is now of no consequence in the home market and none of the home Circulars or Rice Reports now-a-days even allude to it.

A statement which is published later on in this article will show the exports, from the United States into the United Kingdom, of Carolina rice from 1854 to 1871. The total exports of rice by sea from the United States from 1866 to 1869 are as follows:—

Exports of Rice from the United States.

				Tons.
1866	...	...	...	3,864
1867	...	...	...	2,087
1868	...	...	...	5,316
1869	..	...	...	3,955

On the other hand the imports into the United States during the same four years are registered:—

Imports of Rice into the United States.

	From Great Britain, Tons.	From China, Tons.	From other places, Tons.	TOTAL, Tons.
1866	... 9,653	15,371	7,473	32,507
1867	... 4,925	5,861	7,183	17,909
1868	... 8,515	8,155	8,648	25,318
1869	... 5,667	12,233	5,888	23,788

American rice, has, from the careful cultivation to which it has been subjected, acquired a quality far finer than that of any other rice. It sells in England, when procurable, at three times the value of the best Bengal rice. The superiority in the quality of the American rice is well known, and persistent efforts have been made by successive Governments of India since 1840 to introduce the Carolina varieties into India, with as yet, however, but moderate success. In Madras, Mr. Robertson has been able at the Sydapet farm to cultivate some Carolina rice very successfully. A table showing the comparative prices of rice in England, including Carolina rice, is given towards the close of this article.

In Europe there is necessarily not much rice cultivation, but the crop is grown along the shores of the Mediterranean and especially in the plains of Italy. The Italian exports are very considerable indeed, as will be seen from the the subjoined statement:—

Exports of Rice from Italy.

	France. Tons.	Austria. Tons.	Turkey. Tons.	S. America. Tons.	Other places. Tons.	TOTAL Tons.
1866 ...	14,711	3,651	17,001	2,883	13,283	51,529
1867 ...	23,978	19,778	19,478	5,558	16,399	85,191
1868 ...	22,433	23,006	16,457	4,577	15,928	82,401

Spanish Rice.

From Spain the exports are recorded according to the most recent returns available in

Calcutta as follows :—

Exports of Rice from Spain.

	Cuba. Tons.	To other places. Tons.	TOTAL Tons.
1865	5,567	360	5,927
1866	8,694	281	8,975

But the rice continent of the world is Asia, and in Asia British

BRITISH INDIA.

India is pre-eminent as the territory where rice cultivation most widely prospers. At least three-fourths of the rice that finds its way into the export trade of the world is exported from British India. The following is a comparative statement analysed from the figures issued by the Financial Department of the Government of India showing the total exports from the presidencies and provinces of India to both Foreign ports and to Indian ports from 1861-62 to 1872-73 :—

Quantities of Rice (not in the husk) exported from British India.

Years.	Bengal. Tons.	Bombay and Sindh. Tons.	Madras. Tons.	British Burmah. Tons.	TOTAL Tons.
1861-62	410,271	14,453	75,153	273,984	773,861
1862-63	482,057	15,451	62,463	279,246	839,217
1863-64	576,067	33,212	76,561	367,839	1,052,679
1864-65	695,341	39,234	73,949	386,516	1,195,040
1865-66	836,212	29,055	72,144	394,154	831,565
1866-67	222,660	12,242	75,502	210,430	520,834
(eleven months)					
1867-68	352,466	20,192	86,673	404,601	863,932
1868-69	386,614	28,545	88,119	445,252	948,530
1869-70	373,044	27,921	73,902	336,088	810,966
1870-71	430,358	44,347	102,434	423,548	1,000,687
1871-72	341,864	44,043	119,354	482,826	1,077,387
1872-73	511,261	38,119	105,067	688,898	1,344,345

Up to 1866-67 there was an export duty on rice exported to foreign parts of two annas a maund (82½lbs.) and since that year the duty has been raised to three annas. In 1863-64, 1864-65, 1865-66, there was an exceptional demand on India in consequence of the

failure of the crops in Siam and China, and of the prohibition of exports from Siam in 1865. In 1865-66 and 1866-67 there was a general diminution in exports, partly because of the Orissa famine of 1865, and partly because the Siamese markets were again thrown open and rice ceased to find its way from India to China. But lately the increase in exports has been progressive from all parts of India, especially from Burmah, and in 1872-73 the largest quantities ever known were exported, amounting to more than one million three hundred thousand tons. The declared value in pounds sterling of the rice and paddy exported from British India amounted last year to £5,761,028; of this amount the Burmah produce was valued at 2,854,254, the Bengal at 1,959,342, the Madras at 749,518, and the Bombay at 197,914 pounds sterling. The average declared value per ton of rice exported was £8-7-0 for Bombay, £7-13-0 for Madras, £5-12-0 for Bengal, and £4-4-0 for Burmah. In all cases these values were lower than the averages of earlier years which amount to about £9-10-0 for Bombay, £8-0-0 for Madras, £7-0-0 for Bengal, and £4-15-0 for Burmah. The total amount of duty collected on the exports of rice and paddy in the year 1872-73 was £617,497.

The annexed table which has been very carefully prepared from the Financial Department statements shows
EXPORTS FROM BENGAL. the detailed exports of rice (excluding paddy)
from Bengal to all ports from 1861-62 to 1872-73 inclusive :—

Statement showing the Exports of Rice from

	To FOREIGN									
	United Kingdom.	France.	Germany.	North and South America.	West Indies.	Mauritius.	Bourbon.	Other countries in Africa.	Arabian and Persian Gulfs.	Ceylon, Laccadives, Nicobars, &c.
1861-62 ...	82,209	15,550	6,956	18,626	6,309	57,421	40,814	5,413	24,052	52,658
1862-63 ...	46,456	4,854	4,919	10,689	5,233	69,195	31,583	4,304	16,765	75,239
1863-64 ...	36,501	2,735	1,377	8,248	4,491	65,115	37,849	236	32,960	67,554
1864-65 ...	9,946	1,049	464	7,456	7,444	54,752	32,109	2,736	38,300	77,820
1865-66 ...	21,431	373	...	1,205	9,552	66,426	22,754	2,115	32,237	49,358
1866-67 ...	12,659	481	...	...	11,558	37,136	16,464	3,126	23,794	47,723
1867-68 ...	87,630	2,166	2,416	71	18,526	48,508	12,253	2,337	26,884	58,937
1868-69 ...	42,140	1,435	...	1,846	12,069	64,407	15,323	3,085	33,651	73,095
1869-70 ...	20,310	2,649	...	3,293	14,196	42,907	9,757	1,377	26,087	66,760
1870-71 ...	45,134	1,596	451	...	18,414	63,131	26,396	2,926	33,336	44,936
1871-72 ...	53,459	1,195	422	1,338	20,726	55,240	12,219	2,009	46,513	35,987
1872-73 ...	55,414	90	...	5,292	28,888	121,146	7,209	5,560	35,502	70,752

The figures for 1866-67 in this State-

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Bengal, from 1861-62 to 1872-73 inclusive, in Tons.

PORTS.					TO INDIAN PORTS.						GRAND TOTAL
Straits Settlement.	China.	Other countries in Asia.	Australasia.	TOTAL.	Bombay.	Sindh.	Madras.	British Burmah.	Indian Ports not British.	TOTAL.	
2,115	18,915	3	9,148	341,198	26,323	810	39,789	296	1,864	69,082	410,271
8,355	114,859	3,146	11,646	407,793	24,228	...	48,265	220	1,551	74,264	482,057
9,948	108,176	3	13,621	388,814	139,070	852	35,266	9,513	2,552	187,253	576,067
14,578	146,766	...	9,972	403,432	225,441	5,270	59,287	1,184	727	291,909	695,341
6,432	33,529	...	9,755	255,167	52,015	486	28,032	112	400	81,045	336,211
1,338	24	...	6,056	160,357	49,437	...	12,480	371	14	62,302	222,659
2,198	598	...	6,368	268,892	61,252	...	22,077	46	199	83,574	352,466
2,046	48	125	4,974	254,244	105,585	...	25,881	117	176	132,369	386,613
886	818	18	1,035	190,093	141,796	...	41,124	42	...	182,962	373,055
2,139	3,189	1	3,267	244,916	146,119	...	38,522	802	...	185,442	430,858
2,745	14,430	35	6,494	252,812	144,287	...	34,734	31	...	179,052	431,864
2,110	10,073	8,668	4,350	355,054	106,738	1,175	47,970	323	...	156,206	511,260

ment are for 11 months only.

Of this trade nearly the whole is from Calcutta. The entire exports to the United Kingdom, to Foreign Europe, to America, to China, to Java and the Straits, and to Australia proceed from Calcutta. Almost the entire exports to Indian Ports are from Calcutta. The total exports from Calcutta in 1872-73 amounted to 401,799 tons. In 1864-65, the year preceding the Orissa famine, they amounted to 600,000 tons, and upon an average they amount to rather more than 350,000 tons, or about ten millions of maunds annually.*

It will be seen that the proportion of rice that leaves Bengal for Indian ports is enormous. It amounts annually to between 150,000 and 200,000 tons. In 1864-65, it amounted to 290,000 tons, but immediately after the Orissa famine it fell off in an equally extreme proportion. At least three quarters of this amount goes to Bombay, and some 30,000 or 40,000 tons goes to Madras. The Bengal exports in this respect form a very remarkable contrast to those of British Burmah, which province, as we shall see, does not export altogether more than eight or ten thousand tons to Indian ports during the year.

The English and European exports on the contrary are very small, not exceeding 50,000 tons in the year, as against 400,000 or 500,000 tons from Burmah.

* There is a little work published at Calcutta every year, formerly as a private speculation, but now by the Collector of Customs, entitled, *The Commercial Annual* or a "Tabular Statement of the External Commerce of Bengal" during each particular year.

It is necessary, however, to explain, for the convenience of those who may refer, or are in the habit of referring, to that work, that, although it purports to give the commerce of Bengal, it confines itself to the trade from Calcutta, and that the year of which it treats, 1871-72 or 1872-73, as the case may be, is not the ordinary official year of India from the 1st of April to the 31st March, but the mercantile year from the 1st May to the 30th April. The present writer, in ignorance of these facts which it is impossible to elicit from the book itself, has passed many ineffectual hours in trying to reconcile the figures of the "Commer-

cial Annual" with those submitted by the Custom House to the Government of India and published in the *Trade and Navigation Statements*, and does not scruple, as the result of his experience, to advise those who really wish to understand the statistics of Bengal trade, to turn only to the annual volumes of *Trade and Navigation*. Even after making every adjustment possible,—after allowing for the discrepant months, and the exports from Chittagong and Orissa,—the figures of the rice trade for 1872-73 as given in the *Collector's Commercial Annual* remain about 20,000 tons below what they actually were for that year. In the details of export some of the inconsistencies are of a most serious nature, and in the writer's opinion, at least as far as the rice trade is concerned, the "Annual" although "a handy little volume," is for statistical purposes quite useless.

The export to China is very indifferent in ordinary years, though it was stimulated in an extraordinary manner during the years 1862 to 1865 when there was generally a scarcity in the rice-producing countries of the East and especially in China.* There are few facts in the history of the rice trade more worthy of observation, than, that when there was famine in China, exactly ten years ago, the ordinary course of trade threw half-a-million tons of rice into the country from localities beyond sea which do not usually export to China, in order to relieve the distress. Even the large imports with which Government is now supplying Bengal are small compared with those spontaneously poured into China during a similar crisis. It may be added that the difficulty of distribution is not apparently complained of in China, in great portions of which country there are no carts, and where the merchants have no railways, but send the rice in the canals and on men's heads. The exports to China will be again alluded to in treating of the trade from British Burmah. The port of Calcutta exports very little to the Straits Settlements which are naturally supplied from more neighbouring countries. It exports largely to the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, some 30 or 40,000 tons. Calcutta and Chittagong, combined, supply the Mauritius, Bourbon, and the West Indies with all their rice. Bengal also, upon an average, supplies about half the rice imported into Ceylon and the neighbouring islands. The following statement shows whence these importing places have derived their supplies of rice during the year 1872-73 :—

Statement of Exports of Rice into Ceylon, Mauritius, Bourbon, West Indies and the Gulfs during 1872-73.

		Ceylon, &c.	Mauritius.	Bourbon.	West Indies.	Gulfs.
		Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
From Calcutta	...	28,479	103,420	5,593	24,928	35,502
" Chittagong	...	41,402	17,726	1,616	3,960	.....
" Orissa	...	871	.....	.....	.....	.....
" Madras	...	81,120	605	202	129	2,385
" Bombay	...	22	.....	.. ..	.....	16,409
" Sindh	...	...	.....	.....	.....	1,520
" Burmah	...	558	.....	....	571	2,315
Total	...	152,452	121,851	7,411	29,588	58,131

* The scarcity of 1863-64 in China provinces on the sea board, occasioned had also been aggravated by the dis- by the Taeping struggle of previous turbances throughout the central years.

Bengal rice finds its way wherever Bengal coolies emigrate, and no other rice seems able to compete with it in the market. If the exports of Bengal had been stopped this year we may see from this statement to what a tremendous extent the trade would temporarily, at all events, have been diverted. It is easy to say that the emigrant colonies might have imported from Burmah, but the solution of the importation problem is not so simple when we know that in ordinary years, Burmah does not export one single ton of rice to the Mauritius.

The rice exported from Calcutta is divided broadly into three qualities : Table rice, Ballam, and Moonghy ; of these Table rice is of course the best quality. All parts of Bengal, and Behar also, supply their quota though it is believed that the district of Dinagepore, now one of the distressed tracts, ordinarily supplies the largest proportion. Ballam is mostly Backergunge and Eastern Bengal rice ; the name may be supposed to be derived from the Chittagong boats of peculiar construction in which the rice is carried, called ballam boats. The Moonghy is common or inferior rice. To the United Kingdom the exports in the largest proportion are of Table rice ; and similarly to Bombay and Australia, where the rice is intended in the first instance as food for Europeans, the rice exported from Calcutta is Table rice. To the Mauritius, however, the exports are Ballam and Moonghy, being in the proportion of 150 tons of Ballam and 75 of Moonghy to 15 tons of Table rice, and the same to Bombay and the West Indies. To the Straits, to Java, to the Maldives and Laccadives, to Ceylon, to Madras and the Coromandel Coast and to the Gulfs the export is almost entirely in Ballam rice.

The principal minor Bengal ports are, Chittagong, and sundry small ports, such as False Point, Balasore, Chandballee, &c., along the coast of Orissa. There is also a small port in the Soonderbuns

Exports from minor Bengal ports.

of Jessore, called Morrelgunge, the exports of which are included in the customs returns of the port of Calcutta. Morrelgunge was established as a port, in 1870, and is only open from the 1st October of each year to the 20th April, in the succeeding one : 4,682 tons of rice were exported during the season of 1872-73, from Morrelgunge, for the Mauritius and Ceylon. In the annexed table are shown the detailed exports of rice, by sea, from Chittagong and Orissa, during the past year :—

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Statement showing Export of Rice from Chittagong and Orissa to Foreign Ports during 1872-73

FROM CHITTAGONG.		FROM ORISSA	
	1872-73. Tons.		1872-73. Tons.
I.—To EUROPE—	... ..	I.—To EUROPE.	... ..
II.—To AMERICA.—		II.—To AMERICA.	... ..
West Indies	... 3,960		
III.—To AFRICA.—		III.—To AFRICA.	... ..
Mauritius	... 17,726		
Bourbon	... 1,616		
	19,342		
IV.—To ASIA.—		IV.—To ASIA.	
Aden	... .. 213	Ceylon	... 554
Ceylon	... 40,079	Maldiva and	
Maldives	... 1,323	Laccadives	... 317
	41,615		
Total to Foreign Ports	... 64,917	Total to Foreign Ports	... 871

Statement showing Export of Rice from Chittagong and Orissa to Indian Ports during 1872-73.

FROM CHITTAGONG	1872-73. Tons.	FROM ORISSA.	1872-73. Tons.
Total to Indian Ports*	... 28,774	Total to Indian Ports*	... 15,178
Grand Total of Exports from Chittagong	... 93,691	Grand Total of Exports from Orissa	... 16,409

No rice goes from Chittagong to Europe, and it has been pointed out that that port cannot compete with Calcutta as regards freight, nor with Burmah as regards cost of rice. The trade of Chittagong is, however, rapidly increasing, and almost double as much rice was exported thence in 1872-73 as in the previous year. From Orissa the entire export to the Maldives and Laccadives in 1872-73 was from Balasore, to Ceylon from Cuttack (320 tons), and Pooree (234 tons). The coasting trade between Orissa and Calcutta and the Madras ports has already been described by the writer and does not fall within the scope of this article.

The writer has prepared one other statement which will conclude these remarks on the rice export trade of Bengal. That statement will show month by month the exports to *foreign countries*, the figures of the *total* exports unfortunately not being available. It will be noticed that the largest exports are always in December, January and February, the months that immediately

* Total to Indian Ports: *i. e.*, to Presidency.
Indian Ports not within the Bengal

succeed the harvest; and that the smallest exports are during the hot season when the prospects of the harvest are of course uncertain:—

Statement showing the quantity of Rice Exported from the Presidency of Bengal to FOREIGN COUNTRIES, in each month of the years 1869-70-71-72 and 1873—Figures supplied by the Financial Department.

			1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.
			Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
January	...	...	34,544	42,026	42,568	44,056	51,040
February	...	...	18,179	29,173	25,822	38,127	40,390
March	...	...	18,203	19,637	49,252	23,005	23,495
April	...	...	16,625	13,286	13,760	28,706	15,014
May	...	...	9,845	15,284	11,398	27,974	15,652
June	...	...	10,409	13,642	14,670	18,239	10,847
July	...	...	7,816	17,450	14,804	13,964	15,273
August	...	...	8,960	19,159	15,251	27,932	14,349
September	...	...	9,278	16,958	16,363	33,317	17,521
October	...	...	6,751	13,166	11,486	22,882	12,412
November	...	...	10,550	19,828	16,050	29,719	13,042
December	...	...	19,010	26,152	35,617	37,396	34,345
Total	...	...	170,170	245,761	267,041	345,317	263,380

The total exports from Madras to Foreign ports in 1872-73 were 91,885 tons, and from Bombay 17,857 tons; to Indian ports from

Exports from Madras. Madras 13,186 tons, of Bombay 1,283 tons. Almost the entire export from Madras—81,120 tons—goes to Ceylon and the Laccadives, Maldives, Andamans and Nicobars, but nearly entirely to Ceylon; and 6,840 tons to Indian ports, not British, in the presidency of Madras. About 7,500 tons leave Madras annually for the United Kingdom. Twenty years ago the average exports from Madras amounted to 124,000 tons; they then fell off very largely, averaging for the ten years from 1860 to 1870 about 75,000 tons, but during the last three

years they have recovered themselves to some extent and now exceed 100,000 tons. The Board of Revenue at Madras have expressed their opinion, which is contrary to that of the Revenue authorities of other local Governments, that the export duty on rice cannot be maintained without seriously affecting the agriculture of the province. From Bombay, as

FROM BOMBAY. might be expected, the larger proportion of the exports—16,408 tons—go to the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, but this is nearly entirely a re-export of Bengal rice. The Sindh

FROM SINDH. exports, 18,978 tons, go almost wholly—14,961 tons—to the presidency port at Bombay; 2,385 tons went last year from Sindh to the Gulfs.

The annexed statement shows, in exactly the same form as has already been shown for Bengal, the exports of rice (excluding paddy) from British Burmah from 1861-62 to 1872-73 :

*The Rice Trade of the World.**Statement showing the Exports of Rice from British*

	TO FOREIGN											
	United Kingdom.	France.	Germany.	Mediterranean Ports.	Other countries in Europe.	North and South America.	West Indies.	Mauritius.	Bourbon.	Other countries in Africa.	Arabian and Persian Gulfs.	Ceylon, Laccadives, Nicobars, &c.
1861-62	223,298	7,985	1,488	...	3,122	...	...	9	...	2	...	121
1862-63	195,137	1,684	2,736	...	7,233	939	...	155	1	...	...	1,534
1863-64	213,277	6,645	1,742	...	3,442	...	...	261	...	...	...	789
1864-65	149,630	2,269	..	...	4,838	4,555	341	92	...	345	...	1,041
1865-66	231,736	529	1,529	...	3,400	850	1,006	251	...	278	...	462
1866-67	142,837	440	335	...	1,942	1,150	...	4,445	...	...	...	4,059
1867-68	221,642	5,010	3,615	...	1,702	1,148	...	471	...	...	...	5,434
1868-69	364,566	8,103	8,661	...	1,568	1,292	...	...	...	...	...	3,563
1869-70	244,045	1,469	5,540	...	721	1,683	...	1,622	...	...	...	3,206
1870-71	343,805	5,436	10,550	4,678	1,953	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,285
1871-72	342,144	3,262	10,632	1,492	6,546	...	...	224	...	...	...	1,782
1872-73	532,717	..	5,592	19,125	9,750	1,154	572	...	...	4	2,315	558

The figures for 1866-67 in this statement are for 11 months only ; and those for 1867-68, 1868-69, these years, in

The Rice Trade of the World

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Burmah from 1861-62 to 1872-73 inclusive, in tons.

PORTS.						TO INDIAN PORTS.					GRAND TOTAL.
Straits Settlements.	China.	Japan.	Other Countries in Asia.	Australasia.	TOTAL.	Bengal.	Bombay.	Madras.	Indian Ports, not British.	TOTAL.	
29,843	4,106	...	748	...	270,722	23	37	3,202	...	3,262	273,984
60,011	3,415	...	3,616	306	276,767	51	21	2,407	...	2,479	279,246
104,070	16,721	...	2,831	219	349,999	24	10,292	7,524	...	17,840	367,839
126,315	76,716	...	2,910	300	369,352	114	11,185	5,617	218	17,164	386,516
63,053	53,574	...	3,117	...	379,785	68	5,997	8,304	...	14,369	394,154
16,293	2,355	...	3,593	...	179,420	13,603	9,441	7,966	...	31,010	210,430
15,157	...	...	707	...	254,886	57,895	20,108	71,711	...	149,714	404,600
12,558	...	...	916	...	401,227	874	6,225	36,926	...	44,025	445,252
12,384	...	...	343	...	271,013	3,887	27,575	33,613	...	65,075	336,088
36,794	3,293	1,725	2,633	...	412,155	496	7,471	3,426	...	11,393	423,548
67,361	4,098	...	4,042	...	461,583	210	7,327	13,006	...	20,543	482,126
85,447	12,345	...	11,294	91	680,961	106	4,220	4,608	...	8,934	689,895

1869-70 are for Grain and Pulse of all kinds, rice not being shown separately, under each country, for the Local Returns.

For convenience of comparison the following statement has also been prepared and may be inserted in this connexion showing in a comparative form the detailed exports from Bengal and Burmah during the past two years. Bengal and Burmah are the two greatest rice producing countries of the world, and we can gain no better idea of the relative importance of their trade than by contrasting them at a glance:—

Statement showing Export of Rice from BENGAL TO FOREIGN PORTS during 1871-72 and 1872-73.

	1871-72.	1872-73.
	Tons.	Tons.
I.—To EUROPE—		
United Kingdom	53,459	55,413
France	1,199	89
Germany	421	.....
Mediterranean Ports ... ..	.....	3
Total to Europe	55,079	55,505
II.—To AMERICA—		
North and South America	1,338	5,291
West Indies	20,726	28,887
Total to America	22,064	34,178
III.—To AFRICA—		
Mauritius	55,240	121,146
Bourbon	12,219	7,209
Other countries in Africa	2,009	5,560
Total to Africa	69,468	133,915
IV.—To ASIA—		
Arabian and Persian Gulfs	46,512	35,502
Ceylon, Laccadives and Maldives, Andaman and Nicobars, chiefly Ceylon	35,987	70,751
Straits Settlements	2,745	2,109
China	14,430	10,073
Other countries in Asia	34	8,668
Total to Asia	99,708	127,103
V.—To AUSTRALASIA	6,464	4,350
Total to Foreign Ports	252,783	355,051

Statement showing Exports of Rice from BENGAL TO INDIAN PORTS during 1871-72, and 1872-73.

	1871-72	1872-73
	Tons.	Tons.
I.—BOMBAY	144,286	106,738
Sindh ... ..	.....	1,174
II.—MADRAS	34,733	47,970
III.—BRITISH BURMAH	31	323
Total to Indian Ports	179,050	156,205
Grand Total of Exports from Bengal	431,833	511,256

Statement showing Export of Rice from BRITISH BURMAH TO FOREIGN PORTS during 1871-72 and 1872-73.

			1871-72	1872-73.
			Tons.	Tons.
I.—To EUROPE				
United Kingdom...	...	...	342,144	532,717
France ...	...	...	3,262	.....
Germany ...	...	...	10,632	5,592
Mediterranean Ports	...	...	1,492	19,125
Other countries in Europe	...	...	6,546	9,750
			<hr/>	<hr/>
	Total to Europe	...	364,076	567,184
II.—To AMERICA—			<hr/>	<hr/>
North and South America	...	...	.....	1,154
West Indies	...	...	.....	572
				<hr/>
	Total to America	...	.....	1,726
III.—To AFRICA—				
Mauritius	...	...	224	.....
Bourbon	...	...	.....	.....
Other countries in Africa	...	...	.....	4
			<hr/>	<hr/>
	Total to Africa	...	224	4
IV.—To ASIA—			<hr/>	<hr/>
Arabian and Persian Gulfs	...	...	.....	2,315
Ceylon, Laccadives and Maldives, Andamans and Nicobars	...	...	1,782	558
Straits Settlements	...	...	87,361	85,447
China	...	...	4,098	12,345
Other countries in Asia	...	...	4,042	11,294
			<hr/>	<hr/>
	Total to Asia	...	97,283	111,959
V.—To AUSTRALASIA—			<hr/>	<hr/>
	...	...	.....	91
			<hr/>	<hr/>
	Total to Foreign Ports	...	461,583	680,964

Statement showing Export of Rice from BRITISH BURMAH TO INDIAN PORTS during 1871-72 and 1872-73.

				1871-72. Tons.	1872-73. Tons.
I.—BENGAL	...	...	...	210	106
II.—BOMBAY	...	...	...	7,327	4,220
III.—MADRAS	...	...	...	13,006	4,608
Total to Indian Ports				20,543	8,934
Grand Total of Exports from Burmah				482,126	689,898

The Burmah trade in rice has gradually outstripped the trade from Bengal and now far surpasses it. In spite of the enhancement of duty from two annas to three annas a maund in 1867, the exports have increased to an extent unprecedented and extraordinary. And while the whole exports from Burmah have increased from 210,430 tons in 1866-67, to 689,898 tons in 1872-73, it is observable that this increase is almost entirely in duty paying cargoes, or cargoes to foreign ports, which have increased from 179,420 tons to 680,964. The value of the rice exported from Burmah is now close upon three millions sterling.

Great increase of Burmah exports.

Exports to the United Kingdom enormous.

A prodigious export is now annually made to the United Kingdom, amounting on the average to about 300,000 tons, and steadily increasing. During the last year it exceeded half-a-million tons. This export of rice to Europe is the most remarkable feature of Burmah trade. We have seen that the exports from Bengal are only one-tenth as compared with Burmah.

The rice of Siam and Bangkok does not compete with that of Burmah, and with the present scarcity of ships at low rates of freight it seems impossible that it should do so. There is every reason, remarks the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, to anticipate the maintenance of the Burmah exports; the amount of land under rice cultivation is increasing, and vast tracts have lately been reclaimed from waste by the Government embankments of the Irrawaddy; the population is increasing rapidly, and the demand for rice for export is of progressive growth. The consumption of rice appears to be extending on the Continent and in America, and as long as Burmah can manage to supply rice at a profit at rates not much above those now existing, there seems little ground for apprehending any falling off in the demand. Mr. Eden adds that if only ships are forthcoming, 1873-74 will show as large an export of rice as 1872-73. The scarcity of sailing ships of moderate size is one of the great difficulties which the trade has at present to contend with.

Canal steamers are largely resorted to for carrying, and no fewer than 80,000 tons of rice were sent home by the canal route in 1872. The Suez Canal

Canal Traffic.

Transport fell off, however, in a very marked degree during 1873, the higher freight required as compared with sailing vessels being, in very few instances, compensated for by an equivalent in price obtained, and speculators generally gave the preference to cargoes shipped *via* the Cape. The total quantity exported by Canal steamers from the Burmah rice ports into Europe last year amounted to 48,618 tons only. It is especially noteworthy that several of the steamer cargoes were directed to Genoa and Venice, Burmah rice having been found to compete successfully with Italian

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rice at the comparatively low price at which the former can be imported. No less than ninety Italian ships entered the port of Rangoon between the 1st January and the 1st October 1873.

The bulk of the rice exported from British Burmah is, however, as has been pointed out, not really destined for the United Kingdom, but finds its way from Burmah to the Continent in vessels which clear nominally for the United Kingdom, but call at Channel Ports, Cork, Falmouth, &c., "for orders," on receipt of which they proceed to their foreign destinations, Antwerp, Bremen, Hamburg, or elsewhere. If foreign prices are higher or more remunerative than those ruling in the United Kingdom, the rice is despatched accordingly to one or other of the Continental or American ports. In the meantime the vessel is entered among the shipping arrivals with its destination as "Awaits." It is estimated that at least 60 or 70 per cent of the rice exported from British Burmah to the United Kingdom in reality finds its way to the Continent and America.

Of the three administrative divisions of British Burmah,—Arracan, Pegu, and Tenasserim,—the exports of rice are naturally largest from Pegu, which contains Rangoon the capital and principal port of Burmah as well as the lesser ports of Bassein and Thayetmyo. Four hundred and fifteen thousand tons alone were exported in 1872-73 from Rangoon; of this large export the quantity shipped for the United Kingdom was 320,247 tons, for the Straits Settlements 55,404; for other foreign ports 31,467 tons; for India 7,349 tons; and for provincial ports 561 tons. The shipments to Europe nearly doubled those in the preceding year. The total exports from Bassein amounted to 74,927 tons, of which 72,769 tons found their way to Europe. No rice was exported from Thayetmyo.

The Arracan division comes next with the important port of Akyab whence all the grain exported from the Arracan division is shipped. In 1872-73 the exports were 173,252 tons, of which 136,998 tons were cleared for the United Kingdom and 24,871 for Foreign Europe. "Necransie" is the grain generally grown throughout this division, and there is a good deal of an inferior grain called Laroong also cultivated. The local quotations for good Necransie are only a little over 4s. per cwt., and attempts have been made with considerable success, says Mr. Eden, to induce the people of Akyab to plant a better kind of rice, the Ngatsain of Pegu, which fetches at least a shilling a cwt. better price in the market.

The bulk of the Tenasserim rice exports are from Moulmein. The shipments from this division are chiefly made to the Straits and Chinese ports

a fact which will be alluded to again in connexion with the Siam and Cochin China Trade. Moulmein in 1872-73 exported only 19,518 tons to Europe, 2,087 tons to India and the Provincial ports, but it despatched 35,438 tons to China and the Straits. The Moulmein rice, moreover, bore last year a more favourable position in the home markets than it had hitherto borne. There is a small local trade carried on by Mergui and Tavoy, the minor ports of Tenasserim. From Tavoy the exports amounted to 4,500 tons, and a brisk trade was carried on with Penang and the Siamese port of Tonka.

It will have been observed from the tabular Statement, as well as gathered from the above remarks, that while the rice trade between British Burmah and Europe is enormous, the traffic, on the other hand, between Burmah and the West-Indies, the Mauritius and Bourbon, the Gulfs, Ceylon and the neighbouring islands—where the Bengal exports all go—is of the most insignificant dimensions. To the Gulfs there are no exports and were none even during the famine in Persia in 1870-71. To the West Indies there are ordinarily no exports. To the Mauritius there were no exports in 1872-73, when the total exportation from the province amounted to nearly 700,000 tons. The average exports from Burmah into Ceylon scarcely exceed a thousand tons annually.

The explanation we have to suggest of this infinitesimal export into the rice-eating countries of the world is a simple one. The Burmese rice is consumed in enormous quantities, but it is not, it is apprehended, largely in demand as an article of food. Burmese rice sells in the home

markets at from 8 shillings to 11 shillings per cwt. The highest prices reached do not exceed 12 shillings. Good Bengal rice, however, commands 14 to 18 shillings in the market, and good Carolina, which is the finest quality of rice, has sold at 35 to 40 shillings per cwt. The quality of good Burmese rice is beyond question much inferior to the quality of good Bengal rice, and in comparison is usually considered unpalatable and rejected as food by rice-eating communities. The enormous European imports from Burmah, which now exceed half-a-million tons, are, it is believed, consumed for the most part in the manufacture of starch and spirits, and in the numerous other manufactures in the composition of which rice forms an ingredient.

Burmese rice is in fact comparatively a soft-grained rice of bad colour and deteriorates in quality during a long sea journey. Even the best quality of rice exported to Europe from Burmah is soft-grained when compared with Bengal rice and is less in demand

for the table in England. The ordinary qualities will not apparently stand shipment to the Gulfs, or to the Mauritius, or the West Indies. Ceylon can procure Burmah rice for its own consumption as easily as it can Bengal rice, but it invariably imports Bengal rice in preference. From their geographical vicinity on the other hand the Straits Settlements are naturally dependent on Burmah, Java, Siam, or Cochin China, and do not draw on Bengal. From similar considerations China, as will presently be shown, draws on the more Eastern ports. But excluding China and the Straits it may be safely said that, as a general rule, the rice-eating communities of the world are dependent on the rice exports from Bengal for their sustenance, and that the enormous surplus of British Burmah is usually converted to other uses than food.

The exports from Burmah to the Straits Settlements and China

Export to the Straits Settlements and China.

present some very remarkable and instructive variations. From 1862 to 1866 large supplies were shipped to these places varying from

60,000 to 200,000 tons. A great scarcity prevailed in the Eastern provinces of China in 1863, 1864 and 1865, and the crops in Siam were so short in these years that the Government prohibited the export of grain, and in consequence there was a very large and abnormal demand for rice from Burmah. Attention has already been drawn to the way in which the exports from Bengal to China were stimulated by the same cause. During the three years 1862-63, 1863-64 and 1864-65 no less than 369,801 tons of rice from Bengal, and 96,852 tons from Burmah were thrown into China by private enterprise to assist in supplying with food the distressed millions of the Eastern portions of that Empire. In 1865-66 Burmah continued to supply 53,574 tons. About 40,000 tons of rice for China were added from Bombay in these years. To meet the scarcity which then prevailed in China more than half-a-million tons of rice were spontaneously exported by the natural action of trade into China from British Indian ports. At the same time, to supply the deficiencies of importation into Singapore and the Straits Settlements, which ordinarily draw their supplies from Siam, Cochin China, and Java, but which at this crisis from the short crops in those tracts were unsupplied, Burmah exported thither in these four years no less than 373,449 tons.

From 1866 to 1870 the exports to the Straits fell off to what there is reason to believe is their normal quantity. The exports oscillated from between 12 to 18,000 tons, to the Straits Settlements and to China they were absolutely *nil* during three years, and in other years they did not exceed two or three thousand tons—a very small import to that vast country, and an import which is as nothing compared to the hundreds of thousands of tons which are annually imported into China from the Eastern Archipelago

Again, however, in 1871 and 1872, when there was another scarcity in the Eastern markets, the exports from Burmah to the Straits rose to above 80,000 tons; and in 1872-73 Burmah exported 12,345 tons to China. To other countries in Asia also it exported in that year 11,294 tons: the detail of the "other countries" is not specified in the returns, but it includes Java, and it is known that in 1872 there was famine in that island, and it is pointed out more than once in this paper that very large exports of rice were consigned from other exporting countries to Java, during the past season.

No doubt it remains to be seen, and it is a matter of much interest, whether in consequence of the coasting steamers that are now available at Rangoon the recent increased exports to the Straits are not more than temporary, and whether the Burmah trade to the Settlements will not be able to supersede the trade from the old exporting countries of Java and the East. It must not be forgotten, however, that these countries have of late years been unfortunate in their crops, while the harvests in Burmah have been unusually large, and, under all the circumstances, the writer ventures to prophesy that the course of traffic will not vary much from what it lately has relapsed into during ordinary seasons of produce.

The supply of rice from Burmah to ports within British India is not large as a rule. The year 1867-68, 1868-69, 1869-70 may be noticed as exceptional. In the first of those years the exports amounted to 149,000 tons, of which 57,895 tons were to Bengal, and 71,711 to Madras, thrown into those Presidencies in consequence of the demand for rice which arose after the famines in Orissa and Ganjam. In 1866-67 the exports were 31,000 tons, which very much exceeds the average, and in the two years succeeding 1867-68 they amounted to 44,000 and 65,000 tons respectively. The rice harvest all over the East was very good in those years and exporters were driven into ports which they would not ordinarily have frequented. The normal export of rice from Burmah into British Indian ports does not exceed ten or fifteen thousand tons in the year.

"There is," writes Mr. Eden, as he fittingly concludes his observations on the rice trade of the province, "probably no better indication of the opinions of those most competent to form an opinion on the stability and prospects of the rice trade, than the extent to which mercantile houses are prepared to risk their capital in erecting expensive mills with all the best steam machinery for cleaning rice." In 1867 there were three such mills in Burmah; in 1869 there were thirteen, and in 1872 twenty-six mills. In 1873 two additional

mills were set to work at Akyab, and the construction of another had commenced ; a second mill was started in Basseln and it was contemplated to erect a third ; whilst six new mills were being put up in Rangoon. " When it is remembered," says the official report, " that a first class mill will cost something like £30,000, an idea of the amount of capital which is now being sunk in the trade can be formed."

The writer has found difficulty in procuring information regarding the rice trade of the Indian Archipelago. The exports of rice from Saigon, as shown in the following statement, have been derived from Mr. Eden's Report on the Trade and Commerce of British Burmah for 1871-72, which has already afforded us so much assistance in compiling this article :—

EXPORTS OF RICE FROM
SAIGON.

the following statement, have been derived from Mr. Eden's Report on the Trade and Commerce of British Burmah for 1871-72, which has already

afforded us so much assistance in compiling this article :—

Statement of Exports of Rice from Saigon.

Year.	Europe.	Mauritius and Bour- bon.	Singapore & Straits.	China.	Japan.	Other places.	TOTAL.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1868 ...	37,804	17,139	17,593	52,292	2,625	5,930	133,383
1869 ...	31,260	20,592	17,496	29,165	59,918	526	158,957
1870 ...	8,326	7,587	9,913	76,722	122,193	833	225,574
1871	2,384	2,854	12,816	242,259	29,738	3,594	293,645

A detailed statement of the exports of rice from Saigon has also recently been obtained from the British Consul at that place which the courtesy of the Financial Department enables us to publish for the information of our readers :—

Statement of Exports of Rice from Saigon during 1873.

Countries.	Ports.	Quantities.	TOTAL.
		Tons.	Tons.
China	Hong-Kong	142,881	159,078
	Amoy	9,316	
	Swatou	6,107	
	Macao	774	
Singapore	.....	.....	34,280
Java	Batavia	9,937	56,073
	Souralaya	28,443	
	Samarang	17,693	
Mauritius	.....	.....	4,042
Philippines	Manilla	3,486	8,182
	Cebu	4,696	
Calcutta	.....	.....	3,644
Europe	.....	.....	5,023
America	Valparaiso	262	4,249
	Havana	1,331	
	Monte Video	1,232	
	Rio de Janeiro	1,424	
Australia	.....	.....	1,289
Total	.....	.....	275,860

The annexed statement of exports from Siam, which it will be convenient to consider with that of the exports from Saigon, is also extracted from Mr. Eden's Report.

EXPORTS OF RICE FROM SIAM.

Exports of Rice from Siam.

Year.	Europe and Australia. Tons.	America. Tons.	Singapore, India, and Java. Tons	China. Tons.	TOTAL.
1869	53,039	1,459	48,206	58,327	161,031
1870	8,481	...	31,873	114,615	154,469
1871	1,538	485	9,412	100,362	111,797

The writer has also ascertained that in 1864, the year before the famine, the exports from Siam were 143,437 tons, and that in 1865, the year of the famine, when exports were stopped by Government, they fell to 2,186 tons. It is known that they recovered themselves in 1866 to almost their usual amount, a

result which at once very remarkably affected the trade from British Burmah, but the exact particulars are not available.

It is, perhaps, worth while also to add that the British Consul at Siam has furnished the Government of India with the following statement of exports from Bangkok (the port of Siam) during the month of December 1873. Unfortunately, his report does not give the exports for the whole year, and it is explained that, under exceptional circumstances, the exports which took place in this particular month exceeded the average.

Statement of Rice exported from Bangkok during December 1873.

			* Tons.
For Hong-Kong	...	...	2,209
„ Singapore	...	...	5,056
„ Java	...	...	1,432
„ Australia	...	...	403
			<hr/> 9,100

The principal exports from the Archipelago are, however, apparently in the spring, and not, as might be assumed from our Bengal experience, in the cold weather.

From these statements it may be inferred generally that the average exports of rice from Saigon or Cochin-China amount to about 250,000 tons annually, and that those from Siam or Bangkok amount to about 150,000 tons. The whole of the normal

Siam and Saigon exports from these ports are into China, Japan, export Eastward not and the China Seas, to Java and to the Straits Westward. Settlements. The rice does not find its way Westward or to European countries.

“It has been said,” writes Mr. Eden,” that British Burmah could never compete, weighted as it is, with Saigon and Bangkok, the rice of which ports is subjected to no duties. The results on the contrary show that these ports are quite unable to

Mr. Eden's analysis of the trade of Burmah, Saigon and Siam. compete with us, and that they have been beaten altogether out of the European market * * * * * Indeed, the rice of Cochin-China and Siam would never have entered the European market had it not been that there was in 1868 a very large harvest in China, and the home supply of that country was such as to make the foreign rice a drug in the market. Under these circumstances Saigon and Bangkok had no other course but to ship to Europe ; this they did and were supposed to have become dangerous competitors to Burmah ; though, after all, the quantity they shipped to Europe was very insignificant, Bangkok sending in 1869, 15,000 tons, and Saigon 31,260, a very small export compared with the 550,000 tons which Burmah is sending this season (1872-73). The experimental export from Saigon and Bangkok, however, was a failure : that rice did not suit the European market and fetched (one to two

shillings per cwt.) less than Burmah rice ; and as a natural consequence as soon as the rice market in China resumed its normal condition, the exports from Saigon and Bangkok to Europe ceased, and the whole trade fell again into the hands of Burmah."

"It must be prominently kept in view," continues the Chief Commissioner, "that the natural ports of supply for China are Saigon and Bangkok ; the natural ports of exports to Europe are the Burmah ports. It is not only that the Saigon and Bangkok rice suits the Chinese markets best and always commands a higher price there than the Burmah rice, but the situation of these ports is such that Burmah could never compete with them if only they were in a position to supply the whole of the China demand. The difference in freight as against the ports of Burmah is as seven to five. The Chinese junks and small French barques are able to carry the crop in conveniently small cargoes and at low rates. In the previous discussions which have occurred, two great mistakes were committed ; first, in omitting to see that a heavy demand on Burmah for rice for the China markets was due to failure of the crops in China and Formosa, and short crops in Siam, which led to prohibition of export for a time from Bangkok ; and next in omitting to see that the export to Europe from Cochin-China and Siam in 1868 and 1869, was an exceptional state of things resulting from over-supply in China, and the necessity of sending the rice anywhere where it would fetch any price at all, rice being an article which will not bear keeping over from season to season. It may be taken as an undeniable fact that so long as the rice-supply of Siam and Cochin-China is not capable of meeting the wants of China, we shall be called upon to make good the deficiency ; but that, whenever they are capable of meeting with the demand, no rice will go from Burmah to the East.

"On the other hand, so long as Siam and Cochin China can obtain a market in the East, they will not endeavour to compete with Burmah in the European market. At present the balance is in favour of Burmah ; for the last two seasons we have been sending large quantities of rice to China to supplement the export of Saigon and Bangkok, while they have not in any way interfered with us in the European market."

During 1873 only 5,023 tons of Saigon rice were imported into Europe, and that principally to France. Only one cargo was discharged in England and the quality of that proved very indifferent, the grain being much mixed with broken rice and deficient in colour. From Siam no shipments were made to any of the European markets during the past year.

The qualities of rice exported to the East are comparatively soft-grained, and although they will bear export to China, they deteriorate rapidly in transit and will not bear shipment to Europe, or to any

Inferior quality of
Siam and Saigon rice.

distant ports, a fact which explains the low rates fetched by Bangkok and Saigon rice in Europe.

It has already been remarked that the Burmese rice which goes to China is almost entirely sown in the Division of Tenasserim and is of much the same quality and nature as the Siam rice, commanding a lower price in the European markets than the rice exported from Rangoon.

Cochin China and Siam, besides supplying China and the China seas, Japan and the Philippines, exported during 1873 very largely into the island of Java and into Singapore. Saigon alone sent 56,000 tons into Java and 34,000 tons to Singapore.

Java is, however, ordinarily a very large rice-producing tract, so large as to have long since earned for itself the title of the granary of plenty for all the Eastern Archipelago. Rice used to be the staple product of Java though the extent of its cultivation is now far surpassed by that of the sugarcane and occasionally equalled by that of coffee. The great bulk of the foreign trade is carried on through the ports of Batavia, Samarang, and Soerbaya by the Dutch and Chinese. More than half the trade of the island centres in the important Dutch Settlement of Batavia.

RICE EXPORTS FROM JAVA. The rice exports from Java and Madura (a little island to the north of Java belonging also to the Dutch), according to the following trade returns vary considerably, but it will be seen that they cannot be said to evidence a progressive increase in the traffic :—

Statement of Exports of Rice from Java and Madura.

			Tons.		Tons.
1830	...	...	21,730	1848	42,621
1835	...	...	41,106	1849	40,480
1836	...	...	53,196	1863	55,435
1839	...	...	65,677	1865	27,661
1840	...	...	88,592	1866	43,282
1841	...	...	40,251	1867	29,957

The detailed exports of rice from Java during the year 1863, 1865, 1866, 1867, were as follows :—

	Holland.	Palembang, Rhio, and Banka (Sumatra ports) and Borneo.	China.	Other places (almost entirely Singapore and the Straits).	TOTAL.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1863	... 16,194	15,178	6,481	17,582	55,435
1865	... 2,817	5,013	8,653	11,179	27,661
1866	... 8,004	5,445	5,102	24,731	43,282
1867	... 11,109	5,638	115	13,095	29,957

The trade in rice from Java is now free of duty, as it is from Siam and Cochin-China, but till within the last ten years a Customs duty was levied of 10 cents per picul.*

The average exports may be put down at about 40,000 tons, of which the larger portion is distributed among neighbouring ports, and particularly Dutch ports in the Archipelago. The prospects of the island crops are, however, excessively precarious, and nearly

every year there are imports of rice into Java as well as exports from it. The imports of rice into Java during 1865, 1866, and 1867 are thus given :—

Imports of Rice into Java.

		Bali. Tons.	Sumatra. Tons.	Other places. Tons.	TOTAL. Tons.
1865	...	8,163	3,394	2,140	13,697
1866	...	3,163	2,621	868	6,652
1867	...	2,396	127	473	2,996

These imports are small, but coupled with the fact that the exports from the island do not increase but rather diminish, they would seem to show, what has been alleged, that the cultivation of rice in Java is on the decline, and certain it is that the sugar exports from Java have increased from 6,000 tons to 100,000 tons during the last forty years, while the exports of rice have remained stationary. In 1872 when the rice crops in Java partially failed,

and the island was dependent on importation, Cochin-China supplied 56,000 tons to meet the emergency, Siam about 10,000 tons, Burmah about 10,000, and Bengal 8,668 tons. Bengal rice to Java is a very new destination and remarkable, as Java can supply herself more cheaply from neighbouring ports ; but the export illustrates favourably the vigour of Calcutta trade, and proves also the fact that Bengal rice always finds its way wherever rice is really wanted for food.

The quality of Java table rice exported to Holland is always excellent and commands high prices at home. In 1873, the shipments from Java to Europe amounted to 3,992 tons against 9,316 tons in 1872, a falling off attributable of course to the famine of the earlier year. The average European exports of Java rice are not less than 10,000 tons in the year.

Leaving the Indian Archipelago and proceeding north we still find rice largely cultivated but not in sufficient quantities for export. On the contrary the enormously populous countries of

* *Picul*.—A measure of weight 131lbs.; in Malta $1\frac{1}{4}$ cwt. (140lbs.); in general use in the East : in ordinarily in China 133 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. Batavia, it is 135lbs. 10oz.; in Japan

Eastern Asia are obliged, as we have seen, to trust generally to importation. China exports certain quantities, 10 or 12,000 tons a year, to the United States, but these are apparently re-exports and not native produce. From the Philippine Islands alone there appears to be a genuine export of native rice of some 12,000 tons or so annually which finds its way to China. Japan supports itself to a great extent though it imports also, and particularly from Cochin-China. Until 1873 any exportation from this country was strictly prohibited, but, being now permitted, the rice traders in England expect a considerable addition to their supplies from this quarter. The grain, being somewhat similar to Java rice, will probably prove a formidable rival if it can be imported at a moderate price. The shipments of 1873 (including those *via* Hong-Kong) amounted to nearly 6,000 tons with prices ranging from 13s. to 15s. 3d. The exports from Japan are expected to be more than doubled during the present year, when there is a scarcity of Bengal rice, and several cargoes are reported to have been already sold to the trade at 16s. per cwt.

China exports.
Philippine Island exports.
Japan export of rice.

England is the principal rice consuming and rice importing country of the world. Within the last forty years the imports have increased enormously, more than tenfold. The following statement is collated from the second edition of Mr. McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary published in 1845. The average imports, it will be seen, do not exceed twenty thousand tons:—

IMPORTS.
THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Imports into Great Britain from 1835 to 1841, from Mr. McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary.

	British India.	Sumatra and Java.	United States.	Other Countries.	TOTAL.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1835	11,652	565	114	144	12,476
1836	7,259	1,379	148	564	9,341
1837	17,641	1,512	59	40	19,254
1838	10,194	1,596	25	102	11,918
1839	20,965	7,252	33	600	28,852
1840	16,037	5,678	42	437	22,195
1841	19,876	4,279	7	272	24,335

of which as nearly as possible one-half was each year retained for consumption and the rest re-exported.

The following Statement will illustrate the import trade into Great Britain from the year 1854 to 1871. Columns are also added showing each year the average prices of Carolina rice and other

rice in the London markets. This information is derived from the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce who supplied it officially to the Bengal Government. The average consumption per head in lbs. in each year according to an adjusted rate of population is also shown. The figures are entirely official and have been extracted from the Abstract of the Bengal Chamber which was derived from the Trade Returns and partly from reference to the Trade Returns themselves :—

Comparative Statement showing the Imports of Rice into the United Kingdom from 1854 to 1871, the average prices of Rice per cwt. and the consumption of Rice per head of the population per lb.

	From United States.	Average price per cwt.	From Bengal and Burmah.	From other places.	Average price per cwt.	TOTAL IMPORTS.	Consumption per head.
	Tons.	s. d.	Tons.	Tons.	s. d.	Tons.	
1854 ...	1,019	not known	63,269	not known	not known	not known	not known
1855 ...	692	ditto	107,852	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto.
1856 ...	3,043	25 6	177,210	4,357	10 6	184,600	10 40
1857 ...	2,838	24 6	157,971	10,798	11 3	171,607	8 65
1858 ...	2,438	21 6	178,937	3,226	8 10	184,601	9 83
1859 ...	2,580	21 1	62,219	7,705	10 9	72,504	1 16
1860 ...	3,496	23 4	65,740	7,545	13 0	76,781	1 41
1861 ...	not known	21 9	not known	not known	12 8	165,281	2 25
1862 ...	1,921	36 0	190,633	3,405	11 10	195,959	10 15
1863 ...	94	36 1	147,911	5,519	11 11	153,514	5 58
1864 ...	none	32 6	135,350	24,134	11 2	159,484	5 72
1865 ...	2,126	34 0	65,314	29,639	12 4	97,079	2 05
1866 ...	170	32 4	91,780	21,709	13 1	113,659	2 40
1867 ...	475	39 6	116,794	21,952	14 3	139,221	5 85
1868 ...	none	32 3	179,128	57,666	12 2	236,794	9 84
1869 ...	892	29 0	150,479	114,992	10 8	266,363	12 75
1870 ...	232	not known	153,038	50,607	not known	203,877	6 74
1871 ...	none	ditto	184,595	not known	ditto	not known	not known.

The Comparative Statement below shows the detailed Imports and the detailed Re-exports from the United Kingdom for 1870, the last year of which detailed official figures are available to the writer in Calcutta :—

Imports of Rice (not in the husk) into the United Kingdom, 1870.

	Tons.
I.—EUROPE—	
France	703
Belgium	651
Holland	1,252
Total from Europe ...	2,606
II.—AMERICA—	
United States { North Atlantic Ports ...	46
{ South do. ...	186
Total from America ...	232
III.—AFRICA—	
British Possessions, South Africa	1,549
IV.—ASIA—	
British India :—	
Bengal and Burmah ...	153,038
Bombay and Scinde ...	13,824
Madras	5,425
Siam	17,259
Straits Settlements ...	8,839
Other countries ...	1,098
Total from Asia ...	199,484
Grand Total of Imports into the United Kingdom ..	203,378

Re-exports of Rice (not in the husk) from the United Kingdom, 1870.

	Tons.
I.—EUROPE—	
Russia	1,389
Sweden	781
Prussia	1,249
Hamburg	1,979
Bremen	901
Holland	3,678
Belgium	6,794
France	20,780
Portugal, Azores & Madeira ...	6,059
Turkey Proper	1,333
Malta	849
Total into Europe ...	45,792
II.—AMERICA—	
United States { North Atlantic Ports ...	11,003
{ South do. ...	325
{ Pacific Ports ...	7
British North America ...	1,960
British West India Islands..	6,246
Cuba and Porto Rico ...	27,869
Brazil	3,372
Uruguay	1,141
Argentine Confederation ...	2,254
Total into America ...	54,177
III.—AFRICA—	
Egypt	1,553
Morocco	785
West Coast of Africa (British)	1,165
Ditto ditto, (Foreign) ...	816
Total into Africa ...	4,319
IV.—ASIA—	
Syria and Palestine ...	1,109
Other countries ...	5,679
Grand Total of Re-exports from the United Kingdom ..	111,076

This Statement is derived from the Returns of the English Board of Trade, and it will not fail to strike any one who may examine the figures, that there is a considerable discrepancy between the imports from British India as shown herein, and the exports from British India to the United Kingdom as

Discrepancy between the Indian and English Trade Returns and its explanation.

already shown in this paper from figures supplied by Indian official sources. The imports from Bengal and Burmah during 1870 are shown at 153,038 tons; we have already seen that the combined exports from Bengal and Burmah during 1870—71 to the United Kingdom amounted, according to the Indian returns, to 388,439 tons. This discrepancy, moreover, has existed year by year as the following figures will show :—

	1867-68. Tons.	1868-69. Tons.	1869-70. Tons.	1870-71. Tons.
Total quantities of Rice exported from India to the United Kingdom as per India volume ...	328,405	418,585	250,818	397,021
	1867. Tons.	1868. Tons.	1869. Tons.	1870. Tons.
Total quantities of Rice imported into the Unit- ed Kingdom from India as per English volume	131,051	206,626	193,124	172,288

These results have attracted the attention both of the Home and Indian Governments, and in India a satisfactory reply has been given to those who would impugn the accuracy of the local figures. Indeed the substantial accuracy of the Indian figures which, during recent years, have been compiled with great care, is undoubted. Some excess under any circumstances would be expected in view of the numerous casualties, shipwrecks, &c., to which such a trade as the Indian export trade in rice must be subjected. But the real explanation of the difference is to be found in the circumstance already pointed out in this article, while dealing with the export trade from British Burmah, that the rice exporting vessels only clear nominally from India for the United Kingdom, but "await orders" for their real destination on arrival, which may be to any quarter of the world, and that the exports, which are accordingly registered in India for the United Kingdom, are, in fact, not imported into England, and do not therefore enter into the home returns. Similar discrepancies to those which exist between the Customs Returns of India and Great Britain will be found to exist in the returns of all other countries that trade with one another. Even between such neighbourly countries as England and France there is a discrepancy between the Annual Trade Returns amounting in value to ten millions or twenty millions sterling yearly, on the side of excess of exports from France. It is indeed quite certain that we have no reason to distrust the accuracy of our Indian Statistics of Trade.

The subject of the Rice Import Trade into Great Britain will be supplemented by the subjoined statement which shows the ordinary prices current of cleaned rice in London as they averaged in 1873, and opened in the January of the present year. The prices are those of cleaned rice per cwt. according to the Weekly Rice Circular issued by the London Rice Brokers Association, January 2nd, 1874.

	1873.		1874.	
	s.	d. to s.	s.	d. to s.
BENGAL—				
Good to fine white, per cwt ...	13 0	„ 13 6	15 0	„ 16 6
Middling to good middling ...	11 6	„ 12 6	13 6	„ 14 6
Ordinary ...	10 0	„ 11 0	11 0	„ 12 0
Broken ...	10 0	„ 10 6	10 6	„ 11 0
Askoolie ...	10 0	„ 10 6	11 6	„ 12 0
Dacca and Burdwan ...	9 3	„ 10 0	10 6	„ 11 0
BALLAM AND MOONGHY—				
Good to fine ...	9 6	„ 10 0	12 0	„ 12 6
Ordinary to good middling ...	9 0	„ 9 3	11 0	„ 11 6
Casla ...	8 0	„ 8 3	10 0	„ 10 6
MADRAS—				
Ordinary to good ...	11 0	„ 11 6	11 6	„ 12 0
BURMAH—				
ARRACAN—				
Necransie, ordinary to good ...	8 9	„ 9 0	10 9	„ 11 3
RANGOON—				
Good to fine ...	9 6	„ 9 9	11 0	„ 11 6
Ordinary to middling ...	9 0	„ 9 3	10 3	„ 10 9
BASSEIN—				
Good to fine ...	9 6	„ 9 9	11 0	„ 11 3
Ordinary to good middling ...	9 0	„ 9 3	10 3	„ 10 9
MOULMEIN—				
Good to fine ...	9 3	„ 9 6	11 3	„ 11 6
Ordinary to good middling ...	9 0	„ 9 3	10 9	„ 11 0
JAVA—				
Good to fine ...	14 0	„ 19 0	no stocks,	
Ordinary to good middling ...	11 0	„ 13 0	do.	
SIAM—				
Garden ...	9 6	„ 10 0	no stocks.	
Field ...	7 6	„ 8 0	do.	
SAIGON—				
Round ...	9 0	„ 9 3	no stocks.	
Long ...	7 6	„ 8 0	do.	
JAPAN—				
Japan ...	...	...	14 6 to 15 6	
MADAGASCAR—				
Madagascar ...	11 0	„ 13 0	no stocks.	

In conclusion the writer has tabulated for convenience sake the summarized results that have been arrived at in the course of this article regarding the exports and imports of rice. In the left-hand column of the table below are shown the approximate average total export produce of the rice producing countries excluding re-exports, and in the right-hand column appear the average total imports of the rice-consuming and importing countries :—

Abstract general statement showing the sea exports and sea imports of rice in the world.

EXPORTS FROM		IMPORTS INTO	
	Tons.		Tons.
Bengal about.....	500,000	United Kingdom, Europe, Australia, and America, about	800,000
Madras	100,000	China, &c.	320,000
Burmah.....	700,000	Straits, &c.	100,000
Saigon	250,000	Ceylon, &c.	150,000
Siam	150,000	Mauritius	125,000
Java	40,000	Bourbon	7,500
Italy	70,000	West Indies... ..	40,000
Spain.....	8,000	Arabian and Persian Gulfs	60,000
Miscellaneous	22,000	British India (chiefly Bombay).....	200,000
		Miscellaneous.	37,500
Total of sea Exports ...	1,840,000	Total of sea Imports ...	1,840,000

H. J. S. COTTON.

ART. VI.—INDIAN FAMINES, AND THE DUTY
OF GOVERNMENT IN CONNECTION
WITH THEM.

IN our former article on the above subject there were some points which we treated more cursorily than we should have done, but for the limited time and space at our disposal, and into which we now propose to enter more fully; others, which it seems desirable to review in the light of the criticism which our previous remarks have elicited.

The question of the prohibition of exports was dealt with from a purely economical point of view. We pointed out that it was a question between the comparative importance of immediate and temporary needs and future permanent interests; that the stoppage of an export trade for even a single season, generally involved more or less risk of its diversion into other channels, a liability which we might have illustrated by the permanent transfer to this country of a considerable portion of the Russian trade in oil-seeds, owing to its temporary suspension during the Crimean War; and that one powerful argument against rashly incurring this risk, was the circumstance that India, in the surplus produce normally exported by her, possessed what was in fact a surplus store upon which to draw in case of emergent necessity at home.

It has been objected that the risk of the diversion into other channels which would arise from the suspension of the Indian rice trade, for a single year, is so small as to be not worth consideration. Probably, the same would have been said of the linseed trade of Russia at the commencement of the Crimean War. The fact is that the risk is an indefinite one; and the most which can be said in extenuation of it, is that, up to a certain point, the shorter the period during which the prohibition lasted, the less considerable it would be.

The *Hindoo Patriot*, to which we are indebted for the most intelligent criticism on our article which has appeared, brings what at first sight appears a much more formidable objection to our argument regarding the value, in a year of famine, of that surplus cultivation which, in ordinary years, furnishes the supply for exportation. The writer says: "No doubt our exportation creates a surplus, but if any portion of that surplus is prevented from going out by high prices, is it any proof that our exports benefit us in our famines? Suppose the average export of rice from Bengal is 300,000 tons per annum, and that it comes down to 100,000 tons in a year of famine in consequence of a rise in

price. Does this difference of 200,000 tons, or any portion of this difference speak in our favour?

We think that, before it can be made to do anything of the kind, it must be proved that the quantity of rice produced by us has fallen short by more than two-thirds of the usual quantity."

We presume that in the last sentence of the above passage, "more than two-thirds" is a clerical error, for *less* than two-thirds. The *Indian Economist* makes virtually the same objection to our argument, when it says "Of what use is an insurance against scarcity, if in a season of such disastrous failure as the present, the margin is still to be held sacred for export? 'Having no import trade in food,' the people, we are assured, are happy in growing year by year more food than they really want, since the surplus becomes a sort of insurance against seasons of failure. Plainly so, but only upon the supposition that the surplus is retained in the country at such seasons for home consumption. Of what value is it otherwise? In round figures, the people have 34,000,000 acres of land under food for their own wants, and another million acres for the supply of the export demand. Now, if in a season of scarcity, when the 34 million acres have yielded no more than the usual produce of 20, the people can but add the produce of the million acres for export thereto, they are gainers by so much, but only upon the supposition that they retain it. The export demand, in so far as it is an insurance against such seasons as the present, might plainly as well cease, unless the demand is to be waived at such periods. Unless the export is prohibited, the growth of a surplus for the foreigner in ordinary years becomes the direct occasion of aggravating the sufferings of the people; and it is most strange that this should be overlooked. The export demand, by the supposition, is a normal drain of so many hundred thousand tons a year, representing the produce of the margin of soil devoted to its growth. Unless, then, this demand be suspended or prohibited when failure has occurred, the people are exposed to a heavy, gratuitous competition from this demand upon their already narrow resources. Say, the harvest has yielded, as now, but one-third of the usual quantity, and that the export demand represents the ordinary produce of a million acres. It is then clear that if the export demand is to be satisfied, it will this year absorb the produce of *three* millions of acres, instead of one, and this demand, instead of mitigating the scarcity, will indefinitely aggravate it, by competing with the people for possession of their already narrow reserve. It is strange, we say, that this fact should be overlooked. If the existence of the export demand is to be of any use whatever to the people in periods of dearth, it can only be by stopping the export at such

seasons altogether, and retaining this margin of produce for home consumption. To secure myself against a want of potatoes, I may choose to grow enough in ordinary years for myself and my next-door neighbour, but if, when failure comes, and the land has not yielded enough even for myself, I am to admit his claim to an equal share thereof—it is clear that I had better have left the export business alone. There is this peculiarity, too, in the export demand for rice, that it is the demand of a competitor prepared to pay almost any price for it. We commend this very obvious reflection to Mr. Furrell, who lays great stress upon an argument that is plainly a fallacy.”

Doubtless, in order that the export reserve to which we have been referring, should, in any given season of scarcity, prove beneficial to the country, it is essential that the proportion of that reserve prevented from going out of the country, should be greater than the proportion which the deficiency in the crop bears to the total out-turn.

If the deficiency amounts to one-third of the crop, then it is necessary that a normal export of say six lakhs of tons, should be reduced below four lakhs before it can be said to benefit the country. Whether the natural rise in prices, resulting from a scarcity would, in any given season, lead to so great a reduction as this, would depend a great deal upon the state of stocks and prices elsewhere, that is, it would depend, to a great extent, upon the point at which the rise in price might subject Indian rice to competition with that of other countries. Our argument, however, is concerned not with any particular season of scarcity, but with the general question of the benefit of such a reserve as that referred to in the long run; not with the present alone, but with the future also. Nor is the usefulness of surplus production confined to the case of a spontaneous rise of prices diverting to home use a greater proportion of it than that above indicated. The objection of the *Indian Economist*, and, by implication, that of the *Hindoo Patriot* assumes that our condemnation of the prohibition of exports is absolute and unconditional. But this is not the case. We distinctly stated in our article that it was quite conceivable that the actual emergency might be so pressing as to render it necessary to prohibit exportation in spite of all considerations more remote than that of the immediate saving of life. We urged the argument under discussion not as a ground for never prohibiting exportation under any circumstances whatever, but as a reason against hastily adopting such a measure in the absence of extreme necessity. Our argument, in short, is this: By prohibiting exportation, even for a season, you incur more or less risk of inflicting a permanent injury on the export trade. You cannot correctly estimate the extent of this injury, which may be of any magnitude, from the loss of a few

customers to the entire extinction of the trade. Abstain, therefore, from adopting such a course without necessity, in order that you may be able to avail yourself of it in case of necessity.

It is perfectly true that, as the *Indian Economist* says, your reserve is of no advantage to you unless you use it. But the same may be said of any reserve. On the other hand it is of the very nature of a reserve that it should not be used except in a case of absolute necessity.

The more the export trade of India is fostered, the greater will be her surplus production over and above her own wants in ordinary seasons; and the greater this surplus production, the larger will be the area from which it will be possible for her to draw her supplies in case of such a famine as would justify the prohibition of exportation. On the other hand, every thing that injures the export trade tends to reduce this area, and so far to render unavailable the very remedy our critics advocate as the most effectual that could be adopted.

There is one point on which, though evidently in doubt as to his interpretation of them, the writer in the *Hindoo Patriot* has probably misapprehended our views. We refer to the subject of importation in connection with famines.

On this point the *Patriot* says: "Of all the measures which it is necessary for the Government to undertake in order to avert the danger of the famine, importation of food from foreign countries seems to us to be the one which alone can be of any real use and efficacy. It is to be regretted that Mr. Furrell has spoken rather vaguely and indistinctly on this point. One thing, however, he has said very clearly and pointedly, and that is that importation from abroad must involve 'enormous expense.' But is that a reason why no food should be imported from foreign countries? Are not millions upon millions spent upon public works of questionable utility and hundreds of millions spent in wars and useless quarrels? And is the duty of saving a whole nation from death less serious, less solemn, less sacred than that of erecting a barrack or fighting a foe who may not be in the wrong?"

We quite agree with the writer of the above that, in a famine of any severity, the remedy which will be most effectual, and which will be necessary to the full efficacy of other remedies, is importation. It is possible that, in the little we said on this head in our former article, we did not express ourselves so clearly as we might have done.

When we spoke of importation from abroad as being a means which could not be depended on to "prevent" famine in India, an ambiguity in the word "prevent" perhaps rendered us liable to misinterpretation. As we can find no more suitable word, we will explain what we mean by an example. In a country like

England, where the normal prices of corn do not differ very widely from those prevailing in neighbouring foreign markets, and a certain amount of importation takes place even in ordinary seasons, famine is impossible, except in the case of a failure of the harvest affecting a great part of Europe; for every rise in price is immediately responded to by an increased influx of foreign corn. Such a country may fairly look to importation as a standing guarantee against famine.

When we say India cannot depend upon importation to prevent famine, we mean that she is not in the above position, the extent to which prices must rise in order to attract foreign corn being such that much of the mischief of famine will have supervened in the interval. It is only extraordinary action on the part of Government that can bring importation into play at an earlier period, and such action comes under the head of cure rather than of prevention. There is nothing to be said against it in case of necessity, but there is everything to be said in favour of doing all that is possible and reasonable to prevent such necessity arising.

It still remains for us to consider what may be called the equitable objections to the prohibition of exportation; and they are of a very formidable character.

In the first place the measure would be an inhuman one. A large proportion, probably, on the average, at least three-fourths of the annual export, is destined to feed the Indian population of various colonies. Equally restricted to rice as their staple food, this population is in a far worse situation than India even in a famine, as regards the means of obtaining it; for having no production of its own at all, it is absolutely dependent upon the supplies it obtains from abroad. An indiscriminate stoppage of the exportation would, therefore, result in inflicting on it an amount of misery much more serious than would be prevented by the comparatively trifling addition to the food supply of this country which such a measure would secure, even if this addition all went towards the relief of the distress. Indeed, the effect of the measure would be the mere cheapening of rice in one place at the cost of creating absolute dearth in others.

But in the case of the present famine, the distressed districts would not obtain the full benefit, or nearly the full benefit, of the diminution of price. For this diminution would take place first, not in the distressed districts, but at the ports of export, or in the producing districts; and one of its immediate results would be to stimulate consumption in these places, so that a considerable portion of the addition made to the food supply of the country would never reach the distressed districts at all.

We have, indeed, heard it urged that the Colonies could obtain

their rice elsewhere, as the Indian Government is now obtaining rice elsewhere, to supply the place of that exported. If six months notice of the prohibition were given, this might possibly be the case. But a long notice would have been impossible in the case of the present famine, and, from the nature of the case, would, in all probability, be impossible in the case of any famine; and, looking at the distance from the possible sources of rice supply of most of the colonies concerned, it seems very doubtful whether, in the ordinary course of trade, the arrangements necessary could be made in time. As to extraordinary action by the Colonial Governments for the purpose, it is evidently much easier for a single Government in the immediate neighbourhood of the rice producing countries, than it would be for them, to operate in this way.

Had Lord Northbrook prohibited exportation, therefore, it would have been necessary to have exempted these colonies from the operation of the measure; and, with this limitation, the prohibition would have added very little to the stock of food in the country.

Then we have to consider the effect which the prohibition would have on holders of rice in this country.

In our previous article we remarked, on this head, that it would be easier for the Government to compensate the traders whose interests were affected, than to import food, or compensate its subjects for the deprivation of it.

As regards actual contracts, no doubt, this is true. But the holders of such contracts would be a very limited class compared with the large body of holders of grain for re-sale in the country in the open market; and it would be practically impossible for the Government to compensate the latter without exposing itself to wholesale fraud, since, even if the sufferers could be discovered, their losses could not be ascertained.

Let us consider for a moment what are the several courses open to the Government in a crisis like the present, for the purpose of increasing the food supply of the country and relieving distress, and what is likely to be the effect of the adoption of each of them on the interests of the holders of grain, on those of the community at large, and on that portion of the population who stand most in need of relief. The Government may simply prohibit exportation, and then fold its hands; or it may prohibit exportation and at the same time engage in relief operations; or it may adopt the plan which it has followed in the present instance, of allowing exportation to take its course and counteracting its effect by extensive purchases of grain, at home or abroad, or both at home and abroad.

The first of these courses would result primarily in a heavy fall in the price of grain, not in the famine districts, but in the large

producing districts and at the places of export. As a direct consequence of this fall, the holders of grain, at the time of the prohibition, would be involved in serious loss, while consumption would be largely stimulated throughout the tracts immediately affected by the fall. By and bye, as part of this grain found its way, in the ordinary course of trade, to the distressed tracts, a fall in prices would take place there also ; but it would be a comparatively slight fall, and the Government would find itself still responsible for a wide area of unrelieved distress.

None, however, of those who have advocated the prohibition of exportation, have proposed it as a substitute for relief operations on the part of Government. What has been urged is that, by prohibiting the exportation, Government would have been able to buy its grain at cheaper rates, and to have thrown it into the distressed districts more promptly.

No doubt the prohibition would have been attended by the first of these results. The cost of the relief operations would have been sensibly less. But whence would the saving have come ? Obviously out of the pockets of the grain merchants. In other words, a portion of the burden of relieving the population of the distressed districts would have been transferred from the shoulders of the community at large to those of a limited class of the community. To some persons it may appear that there would have been no great injustice in this. The loss of the grain merchant, they may say, would be merely a deduction from the extraordinary profits he had calculated on making out of the necessities of his neighbours. But we cannot take this view of the case. We pointed out in our former article that a season of scarcity is by no means necessarily a season of extraordinary profits to the grain merchant. In any case such profits would be confined chiefly to those who might have purchased their stocks from the producers. But grain goes through many hands in its progress from the producers to the exporters, and there is very little room to doubt that a large portion of the saving to the community which would have resulted from prohibiting exportation without long notice, would have come, not out of the extraordinary profits, but out of the ordinary commercial profits, or out of the capital, of the merchants in whose hands it might have happened to be at the time. Now, if there is one thing clear about the cost of meeting a great public calamity of this kind, it is that, on grounds of mere equity, it should be met in fair proportion by all the taxable classes of the community. Any measure which tends to shift it on to the shoulders of a particular class is on that ground alone deserving of unqualified condemnation.

As to the gain in point of time which, it is said, would have resulted from the adoption of the policy we are considering, we are

persuaded that there would either have been none, or it would have been so insignificant as to weigh nothing in the scale against the iniquitous consequence just pointed out. The events of the last few weeks have shown conclusively that, with the carriage available, grain could not have been thrown into the distressed districts more rapidly than it has been, even if the entire quantity purchased and to be purchased by the Government had been in Calcutta within a fortnight of the cutting of the crop. From the time the Government commenced its relief operations, the supply of carriage has been constantly behind the supply of grain in hand for despatch. The sole advantage of the prohibition would have been the saving in the price of the grain, and this saving would have been effected at the cost of a great wrong.

Were the position of the exporting districts in relation to those in which relief is required, different to what it is, the argument in favour of prohibiting the exportation for the sake of gaining time might be much stronger. If, for instance, the bulk of the grain destined for exportation passed through the distressed districts themselves; or their immediate neighbourhood, a large economy of both time and carriage might result from intercepting it. But, so far from this being the case in the present instance, it takes as long, if not longer, to convey grain from the great rice producing districts of Eastern Bengal to Behar, as from Calcutta.

One point in connection with the question remains to be considered. There is some reason to fear that a large portion of the grain which the Government is importing, is less adapted to the requirements of the people it is intended to feed, than grain purchased in the country would have been. We are tempted to say that people who prefer hunger to changing their food from one kind of rice to another deserve to starve. But, in any case, we do not think it can be shown that the recourse by the Government to Burmah for rice was a necessary result of its policy of allowing exportation. Large quantities of grain were bought in the Indian markets, and economical motives alone prevented more being so bought.

We discussed in our previous article the mode and rate of payment of labourers on relief works.

The rule we then insisted on, of course, involves the application of a strict labour test. If, in order to guard against injury to private employers of labour, it is necessary that the rates of remuneration should not be sensibly higher than the market rates, so long as those rates are sufficient to procure the minimum quantity of food required to maintain a labourer in ordinary health, it obviously follows that a full day's work, according to the usage of the country, should be required from day labourers, while, as regards piece work, the question does not arise.

In the case of able-bodied labourers, indeed, it would be difficult

to discover any valid argument for departure from this rule. Neither the fact that Government is the employer of their labour, nor that the time is one of scarcity, can furnish any excuse for extraordinary idleness on the part of such persons. Apart from the interests of their employers, a powerful reason for insisting on the full tale of work is to be found in the necessity of guarding against the relief works becoming a refuge for idlers. On the one hand it would be a serious injustice to encourage an unnecessarily wasteful expenditure of the tax-payers' money, by which, it should be constantly kept in mind, the cost of the works, so far as they prove unremunerative, will, in the end, have to be met; on the other hand, since the resources of Government are limited, to encourage idlers is to injure the honest poor, by precipitating their exhaustion. The object of the works, it must be remembered, is to supplement the labour fund of the country, not to throw upon the State the burden of finding gratuitous food for its labouring population, and thus contracting the supply of efficient labour.

But these arguments, it will be urged, apply only to able-bodied labourers, whereas there are the aged, the infant, the emaciated, and those unused to hard labour to be provided for. This is, no doubt, true; but it does not seem to us to affect the question of the labour test as far as the principal relief works are concerned. Such relief works are not the proper place for these classes of people. As to the sick and infirm, it is not only highly dangerous, from a sanitary point of view, that they should be encouraged to congregate together on great public works, where shelter must generally be insufficient, and where, if epidemic disease broke out among them, circumstances would favour its spread among the healthy in the highest possible degree. In the second place, it would be impossible to work a differential labour test effectively without complicated arrangements, which would quadruple the amount of supervision required and thus add largely to the cost of the works. This class ought, both in their own interests and in those of the public at large, to be provided for as near their homes as possible, after being subjected to a medical, or quasi-medical test. The object in view should be to restore them to health as soon as possible, and then to draft them off to the relief works. For this purpose, they should receive medical care as well as food, and in the meantime, it would, in many cases, be necessary to excuse them from labour altogether. For those unused to hard labour, light labour should be supplied, care being taken that no persons are included in this class whom the customs of the country do not absolutely excuse.

There is a considerable class of persons who, though used to agricultural labour, would be very loth to work as navvies on public works, or even to work in the fields for hire. The system of

aiding the ordinary agricultural work of the country, advocated by us in our former article, would exactly meet the case of this class; and it seems to us to be a serious defect in the present scheme of relief works that it does not include, or includes to a very limited extent, such a system.

JAMES W. FURRELL.

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ART. VII.—OUDH AND OPTIMISM.

Tales of rustic happiness—
 Pernicious tales ! insidious strains !
 That steel the rich man's breast,
 And mark the lot unblest,
 The sordid vices and the abject pains,
 Which evermore must be
 The doom of ignorance and penury !

Coleridge.

HOWEVER vague and various may be the notions entertained by Englishmen in England of the past history, the present position, and the future prospects of their countrymen in India, it may be said with tolerable confidence that the general feeling on the subject is one of complacency, and that almost every one who ever bestows a thought on India is convinced that our Government of the country is a blessing to its people and a triumph of civilisation. And it is impossible to deny that British India does present an imposing spectacle to the world, and that it is natural for an Englishman to feel a not ignoble satisfaction at the thought that some two hundred millions of Asiatics are being ruled at once, as he believes, vigorously and beneficently, by little more than one hundred thousand of his countrymen. The Anglo-Indian Empire may not unfairly be called the most remarkable experiment in governing which the world has ever seen. As regards peace, order, and general tranquillity, never before have such vast results been produced by such limited means. Life and property are probably as secure from violence as in most European countries ; the authority of the law is unquestioned ; and the purity of the tribunals by which it is administered, so far at least as they are composed of Europeans, beyond suspicion. These are the most obvious, if not the only obvious, aspects of the Anglo-Indian Empire ; and it is natural that the contemplation of them should inspire the British public with feelings of pardonable pride, and result in a widespread impression that India is the best possible outlet for such cultivated energy as can find no field for action at home.

It would be, of course, impossible to estimate with any approach to precision the degree of influence which this impression exercises among the motives which year by year draw men to fill the ranks of the Civil Service. Without, however, taking too sanguine a view of human nature, or at least of the nature of competition-wallahs, that

“ juvenum recens
 Examen Eois timendum
 Partibus,”

it may be safely affirmed that the belief that an Indian career affords a wide sphere of usefulness, and that a faithful discharge of the duties of an Indian civilian necessarily means an advancement of the cause of progress, is the main motive with some, and a more or less influential motive with almost all of those who adopt it. It would be too much, probably, to say that a majority or even a large minority, come to this country animated by anything like steady or sustained enthusiasm for the lofty idea underlying the concrete details of the working life before them ; but few can fail to feel that the career which they have chosen is at least one which ought to awaken enthusiasm, and which in their best moments they will never regret having adopted. Such a belief is the best compensation which a man can have for the deprivations of exile. But what if the basis on which it rests be cut from under it, or even be so far weakened as to render the belief itself tottering and insecure? To find that one has based one's life on a delusion is one of the most bitter of experiences, and to suspect that this is so, one of the most painful of doubts. It may seem a somewhat violent transition to pass to the condition of Oudh from such general reflections as these, but it is only a reversal of the train of thought which suggested them.

Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat. Never was this grim old saying more grimly illustrated than it was in Oudh at the time of the Mutiny, when the peasantry, or as many of them as were sufficient, under the circumstances, to pass for the whole, committed one of the most deplorable acts of infatuation on record by throwing themselves into the arms of the revolted Taluqdárs, one-half of whom were their natural enemies, and five-sixths of the remainder their exceedingly doubtful friends. How far this fatal step was due to terrorism, and to what extent, if at all, it was spontaneous, are questions which it would now be difficult, if not impossible, to answer. But whatever the cause, the result was the Taluqdári Settlement. The effect of this identification of themselves by the peasantry with the Taluqdárs was of course enormously to strengthen the hands of the official party who desired to maintain and extend the Taluqdári system, and proportionally to weaken the advocates of a settlement made with the village zamíndárs. This unnatural alliance rendered the extinction of the Mutiny by any other means than that of offering their own terms to the Taluqdárs a task of so much difficulty and danger, that it can hardly be matter of wonder that those terms were offered. It is impossible now not to regret that we did not persevere, and save the people in spite of themselves even by the slow, costly, and difficult process of destroying fort after fort until the Mutiny was stamped out. But, though matter

of regret, the policy adopted can hardly be matter of wonder. The summary settlement of 1856 made with the village communities, was doubtless one of the main reasons of the discontent of the Taluqdárs, which, combined with the disaffection of the native army, so largely recruited from Oudh, culminated in the Mutiny.

It was then that so many villages which the summary settlement had recognised as independent landholders cut their own throats by joining the Taluqdárs on whom they had previously been dependent, thus putting at the service of the upholders of the Taluqdári system an argument which, under the circumstances, was so nearly irresistible that one cannot be surprised at its success.

'The people,' it was argued, 'evidently regard the Taluqdárs as their natural leaders. Why, then, should we go out of our way to force on them a more democratic system for which their own conduct shows them to be unfitted? Let us make terms with the Taluqdárs and the country will be pacified.'

Military considerations, also, tended to make these counsels prevail. Besieging numberless petty forts in the hot weather, losing men at every one, is about as inglorious and heart-breaking a task as can be proposed to a General, and it is not surprising that Lord Clyde hesitated to undertake it. The work, if attempted, would probably have cost many lives, and have prolonged the disturbances in Oudh for another year, and though the teaching of subsequent events may make us regret the course adopted, we can hardly blame the men of the time for acting as they did.

It was determined, then, to pacify the Taluqdárs by allowing them to engage for the payment of the Government revenue in all villages included in their Talukas, and on this principle the second summary settlement, which followed the Mutiny, was based.

The regular settlement began in the Pratáb-garh district in 1862. The latest to commence was that of Gonda in 1868. In Gonda and Faizábád it is still incomplete. Thus, within eighteen years, Oudh has thrice enjoyed the blessing of being "settled." Of the merits of this third settlement it would be difficult to say any thing which should apply to all districts alike. It was not, perhaps, taken as a whole, much too heavy, though flagrant instances of over-assessment are by no means unfrequent. Inequality and too rapid increase of assessment may be taken to be its chief defects. The theory on which it rests is that each village should be assessed separately, and that the Government demand should amount to one-half of the gross rental or *nikási khám*, which again, is generally estimated at one-third of the gross produce, or *paidáwár*. The other half of the gross rental was appropriated to the Taluqdár and subject, in the case of subsettled villages, to deductions varying from twenty to seventy per cent in favour of

the under-proprietors, and in many other cases to smaller deductions in favour of ex-zamíndárs, who were found entitled to hold a certain quantity of land, called *Sír*, or *nánkár*, or *daswant*, at a lighter rental than that ordinarily payable.

Estates not included in a Taluqa are called *zamíndári* or *mufrid* and are generally the property of a whole community. Their tenure only differs from that of subsettled villages in that it involves no payment to a Taluqdár. After these come the tenants with a right of occupancy—heritable, but not transferable, who are descendants of persons who had a proprietary right in the village in which the lands are situated within the thirty years next before annexation—and who pay a rent less by two annas in the rupee than that payable by an ordinary tenant. Next in the scale come those ordinary tenants, or tenants-at-will, whose rent is entirely a matter of agreement between them and their landlords. Below these again are the great mass of day-labourers, some of whom hold a few biswas of land, while the rest have no land at all. These labourers and tenants-at-will form the great majority of the agricultural population, and consist mainly of men of the lower castes. Such is a brief outline of the various agricultural classes of Oudh. These classes form the great majority of the whole population, and by the nature of the answer to the question whether their condition is progressive, stationary, or retrograde, must the merits of our administration of the province be mainly judged.

Speaking broadly, and for purposes of convenience, the *mufrid zamíndárs*, under-proprietors, ex-under-proprietors, and tenants with a right of occupancy, may be considered as one class. They all either have, or had, or are descended from those who had, proprietary rights in the soil, and with very few exceptions are either Brahmans, Rájputs, or Musalmáns.

We thus get four classes :—

1. Taluqdárs including those smaller landlords, who chiefly differ from Taluqdárs in not holding sannads.
2. Village brotherhoods, whose common feature is, as remarked above, that they “either have, or had, or are descended from those who had, proprietary rights in the soil.”
3. Ordinary tenants, or tenants-at-will.
4. Day-labourers, who may or may not hold a small patch of land, but who mainly subsist by working for hire.

What, then, is the condition of these classes ?

The answer may to a certain extent be gathered from the pages of the Chief Commissioner's Revenue Administration Report for the year ending 30th September 1872. An embarrassed and impoverished body of landlords, a depressed and decaying yeomanry, a struggling, hand-to-mouth tenantry, and a residuum of half-starved

and consequently predatory day-labourers, are the main features of this dismal story. These official utterances possess in a somewhat unusual degree the merit of candour, but even they do not reveal the whole state of the case. The woes of the Taluqdárs, almost infinitely the least important part of the agricultural population occupy a disproportionately large space. The lower the class, in short, the less is said of it. The reason probably is that the report is mainly compiled from information supplied by Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners who, in ordinary times, see comparatively little of the lowest strata of society. It is in the rent courts of first instance, and in the subordinate criminal courts that the real, grinding, abject poverty and distress of the agricultural class, is exhibited in the strongest light. It is not too much to say that nine-tenths of the judicial work of an Assistant or Extra-Assistant Commissioner is divided between trying emaciated wretches for stealing a few stalks of sugarcane or a few handfuls of peas from their neighbours' fields, and playing the part of butcher to the Taluqdárs by decreeing heavy arrears of rent, which he knows they can never pay, against broken-down Rájputs and Bráhmans, utterly unable to state their case, and with no arguments but lies and lamentations. The one consolatory reflection which relieves the gloominess of the latter part of this dismal task is that the ludicrously imperfect adaptation of the Rent Act to secure the ends aimed at robs a decree for rent of much more than half its immediate terrors, and that though the holder of the decree may ultimately utilise it in ejecting the judgment-debtors, the only immediate satisfaction which he is likely to obtain is the attachment of a few seers of grain, two or three lotahs, and a bedstead. If, indeed, the actual corresponded to the theoretical working of the Act, its application to a country assessed as many parts of Oudh are assessed at the present moment would have long ago utterly ruined many of the Bráhman, Rájput and Musalmán brotherhoods, who still continue to carry on the struggle against the Taluqdár and Tahsíl-chaprásí.

The condition, then, of the agricultural population of Oudh is admittedly not what it should be. The question necessarily arises, What are the causes, and what the remedies of the evils under which they suffer? The causes may be divided into two classes, those which are beyond our direct control, and those which are within it; and the former are unfortunately much the most widespread and potent. They may, indeed, be summed up in two words—over-population, and scarcity of food. Oudh is probably, next to China, the most densely peopled country in the world. The average number of souls, or bodies of the description commonly known as human, is 469 per square mile, or 125 more than in England and Wales. Oudh is, to quote the last Administration

Report, "a little smaller than Scotland, a little larger than Denmark, but with a population more than double that of both put together," amounting, according to the census of 1869, to nearly eleven millions and a quarter. And almost the whole of this enormously dense population is supported directly from the soil, for such manufactures as did exist under native rule are rapidly dying out under the influence of free trade. The remarkable fertility of the soil enabled it in the days when railroads were not, and roads could hardly be said to be, to maintain its population with comparative ease. But of recent years greater security and improved communication have led to large exportation of grain, which, combined with the fall in the value of money, has vastly raised prices in Oudh itself.

The effect thus produced on the condition of the labouring class, four-fifths of whose expenditure is on food, has been disastrous. The amount of money in their hands has, it is true, increased, but in a proportion by no means equal to the diminution in its purchasing power. The money-wages of common labour have increased, speaking generally, from fifty to one hundred per cent. The man who formerly got an anna a day, now gets six pice or two annas. He who got six pice, now gets two annas, or, if very lucky, two annas and a half. But the price of grain has meanwhile risen from two hundred to three hundred per cent. In the days of the Nawábi, a maund of flour could be purchased for a rupee. At the present moment a rupee will purchase but eleven seers, and will seldom or never purchase more than fifteen or sixteen seers. Gram, of which a maund and a half or two maunds could, twenty years ago, be bought for a rupee, now sells at sixteen seers, and is seldom or never at a lower rate than three or four and twenty. The inevitable result of this great diminution of purchasing power has been the worst physical evil which can befall a labouring class, a serious diminution of the standard of living, a reduction of the practical minimum of subsistence. People who formerly lived on flour, now live on peas and other coarse grain. Those who formerly lived on coarse grain cannot now get a sufficiency of that. As far, then, as regards the lowest of the four classes under which the rural population has been distributed, the results of our rule have not been beneficial. For what good can the most enlightened and vigorous administration, with tranquillity never so profound, with never so many roads, bridges, schools, jails, police-stations, dispensaries and cutcherries, do the average Indian culi at all commensurate with the ever-present evil of being underfed? Of what profit are all these to Sukhu, Chamár, or Shio Charan, Ahír, and their fellows? They were just as happy going along the old *kachcha* cart-track as they are now upon the most scientifically constructed of *pakha* roads. Once or twice in a year, perhaps,

they might have had to pay a pice to the ferryman who took them across the river which they now cross without payment by a bridge. Their children rarely go near a school. Dispensaries can do little to keep underfed bodies in a healthy condition. The thána, the cutcherry, and the jail they know but too well. The jail, indeed, is probably the one bright vision with which we have enlightened the gloomy mental horizon of Sukhu, Shiocharan and their brethren, as of a place where they can at the worst get a chapati to eat and a blanket to cover them. But the prospect of even such a rapturous possibility as this can hardly compensate for the gnawing discomforts of chronic hunger. This rise in the price of grain and fall in the value of money cannot, of course, be imputed to our Government as a fault. They are effects of causes such as improved communication, increased security of property, which has caused money to be circulated instead of hoarded, and import of bullion in payment of exports. But the doleful fact remains that, as a result of our rule, life has become very much harder for the day-labourers of Oudh.

Let us next take the penultimate grade of the rural population,—the ordinary tenants, or tenants-at-will—and consider how their condition has been affected by our rule. The operation of the cause which has so deeply depressed the landless or nearly landless labourers, the diminution of the purchasing power of money with respect to food, has in their case been considerably modified. The cultivator, as opposed to the mere labourer, has a portion of the commodity which has been rising in price to sell, and to that extent benefits by the fall in the value of money relatively to grain. So far as he is a consumer merely of his own produce, he is no better off than before; but so far as he is a seller, he is profited. And there can be no doubt that this cause has had a distinct *tendency* to improve the condition of the cultivator. There is reason, however, to fear that this tendency has been more than counteracted by two opposing causes, *viz.*, increase of population, and the constantly advancing influence of competition, and the corresponding decline of custom, as the determining agency of rents. As regards the first, it is impossible to say how far population has increased during the last eighteen years, but there seems every reason to believe that its growth must have been considerable. Where, as in India, prudential motives have absolutely no influence in restraining multiplication, the only checks that can operate are physical. Political tranquillity and freedom from any great or widespread epidemic have prevailed, and the only check has been want of subsistence.

The working of the second counteracting agency has been less obscure, and it is one which is deeply felt and deplored by the

people themselves. 'Formerly,' the writer has been told by men of this class, 'if our grandfather and father and we ourselves had always paid five rupees as the rent of our field, we had no fear of being called on to pay more. But now we are always afraid lest some one should come and offer our landlord a rupee or two more, and then we should be turned out.' The plain fact is, that the tenure of all ordinary cultivators either has become, or is rapidly becoming, *cottier* tenure, as defined by Mr. Mill at the beginning of Chapter IX of the second book of his *Political Economy*, that is, a tenure in which "the labourer makes his contract for land without the intervention of a capitalist farmer, "and in which the conditions of the contract, and especially the "amount of rent, are determined not by custom, but by competition." The train of ideas which we have introduced—individual right as opposed to family or tribe status, contract as opposed to custom—has vastly changed, and seems destined entirely to alter the conditions of agricultural life in India. And the change is one over which it is difficult to feel enthusiastic. It may, of course, be urged in its favour, that this breaking up of the old ties is a necessary step in the path of progress. The earliest state of historic man, it may be said, is corporate life, the life of the family and tribe. From this he has emerged in Europe and is emerging in India to the stage of individualism in which every thing seems to indicate that his next step will be towards corporate life again, but of a larger and grander kind, which shall include and find room for individuality, in a word, towards a system of conscious and voluntary association, chiefly, at first at least, industrial. Individualism is a necessary step to a higher mode of association, the co-ordination of the individual with the collective life. Now few persons, probably, will deny the justice and truth, on a large scale and in the long run, of such considerations as these. But it is, surely, difficult not to feel that they look, so to speak, far over the heads of the actual facts around us. The terms of the formula are too vast for it to be a safe guide for our practice. The periods of time which it involves to render it a trustworthy interpretation of history are centuries not years, or even decades. A state of things which it has taken Europe, roughly speaking, eighteen hundred years to reach, Oudh is not likely to go very far towards attaining in eighteen, or even eighty. In truth, these large generalizations are most dangerous rules for the guidance of our political practice. The principle of natural selection as exemplified in history is a grand and imposing spectacle, but it is not for us to identify ourselves so closely with the destruction of weaker by more vigorous types. Natural laws can take very good care of themselves; and the true function of the rulers of mankind is rather to temper and soften their working, to infuse, so far

as may be, an element of kindly human pity into the vast unconsciousness and impersonality of these tremendous agents, than to throw their influence, such as it is, into the descending scale, and to attempt the wholly superfluous task of assisting a chemical movement by mechanical means. "Wholesale moral arrangements," as Oliver Holmes happily says, "are so different from retail," and all consciously devised human efforts may be regarded as retail in contradistinction to the illimitable and ultimately irresistible march of Nature. Nor is this in any way to advocate a blind resistance to natural processes; rather is it to urge the duty of clearly apprehending the character and tendency of those processes, that so we may follow their movements and succour the unfortunates who have been crushed beneath the mighty wheels of the irreversible engine. We can never break the laws of nature; to attempt it is but to break ourselves against them; but we may do something, at least, to alleviate, if not to avert, the ruin of those whom these laws have overwhelmed. Progress, we have been told on high authority, is a march 'from status to contract,' and it is probably impossible—still more, probably undesirable—to reverse or materially alter this tendency. But it is both possible and desirable to make the change somewhat less bitter and ruinous to those whose lives, hitherto based on custom, are being broken up and overwhelmed by the subversive agency of contract.

To pass to the particular remedy which this particular evil appears to demand, let us turn to Mr. Mill. "Where a country is "under cottier tenure, the question of perpetuity is quite second "to the more important point, a limitation of the rent. Rent "paid by a capitalist farmer, who farms for profit and not for "bread, may safely be abandoned to competition; rent paid by "labourers cannot, unless the labourers were in a state of civilisa- "tion and improvement which labourers have nowhere yet "reached, and cannot easily reach under such a tenure. Present "rents ought never to be arbitrary, never at the discretion of the "landlord; either by custom or law it is imperatively necessary "that they should be fixed."

This passage was written *à propos* of Ireland, but it is equally applicable to Oudh. Under native rule, such competition as did exist was on the part of the landlords to get labourers for their land; now it is just the reverse. It has been, indeed, or until the recent Irish Land Act, was somewhat the fashion to quote our land legislation in India as a model to which that of Ireland should be made to conform; but it would seem to be more nearly true to say that what Ireland was in her worst days of cottiers and conacre and rack renting, that Oudh, as regards all ordinary tenants, is, under the reign of competition, rapidly tending to

become. The following passage from the ninth chapter of Mr. Mill's second book applies with hardly any modification to the tenure of these cultivators at will :—

“ The produce, on the cottier system, being divided into two portions, rent, and the remuneration of the labourer, the one is evidently determined by the other. The labourer has whatever the landlord does not take ; the condition of the labourer depends on the amount of rent. But rent being regulated by competition, depends upon the relation between the demand for land and the supply of it. The demand for land depends on the number of competitors, and the competitors are the whole rural population. The effect therefore of this tenure is to bring the principle of population to act directly on the land, and not, as in England, on capital. Rent, in this state of things, depends on the proportion between population and land. As the land is a fixed quantity, while population has an unlimited power of increase, unless something checks that increase, the competition for land soon forces up rent to the highest point consistent with keeping the population alive. The effects, therefore, of cottier tenure depend on the extent to which the capacity of population to increase is controlled either by custom, by individual prudence, or by starvation and disease.”

There can be but little doubt as to the nature of the controlling causes at work in Oudh. A cottier system, and all the misery that such a system involves, is the goal towards which the ordinary cultivators of Oudh are steadily and rapidly tending ; and it behoves us fully to make up our minds whether this is, or is not, a desirable consummation. For if it is to be averted, there is little time to spare, and no time to lose.

The sorrows of the village brotherhoods, the third in the ascending scale of the agricultural classes, have always, and naturally, attracted far more attention than the less romantic troubles of the simple tenants and the labourers. Is it not that we, like Sordello, have

“ unconsciously contrived forget
The whole, to dwell o' the points,”

and thought, like him, that we

“ might assuage
The signal horrors easier than engage
With a dim vulgar vast unobvious grief,
Not to be fancied off, or gained relief
In brilliant fits, cured by a happy quirk,
But by dim vulgar vast unobvious work
To correspond.”

But their woes, though more picturesque, are none the less sternly real, and it is to be feared that the sympathy and attention

which their interesting nature has excited has done little to alleviate the sufferings of those who have to bear them.

The condition of the village brotherhoods, though theoretically better, is, it is to be feared, practically worse than it was in the time of the Návábí; it is true that under native rule they had no rights which they could legally enforce, and certain such rights we have given them.

But our general principle of maintaining the *status quo* in name has really altered it to their disadvantage. The native government and the Taluqdárs exercised powers which were unlimited by any law, and the village communities had no rights which could be called legal. But the fact that in the last resort the power rested with them, preserved them in most cases from extreme oppression, and they could generally resist the tax-gatherers with some chance of success. There were doubtless instances, not a few, of hardship and tyranny and torture worse than any which could be found now, but our system of giving ourselves and the Taluqdárs powers which though theoretically less, are practically and in the long run, more stringent than those which the native government and the Taluqdárs had previously, seems to have reduced them to a dead level of poverty and discomfort. The possibility of successful resistance saved them at least from the crushing sense of being in the vice of an irresistible necessity. A state of chronic warfare with an enemy who, though bound by no rules, is not invincible, is, to people of the character and habits of the Oudh peasantry, less oppressive and disheartening than hopeless subjection to a power which, however well-meaning and observant of the laws of war, is at once exacting and irresistible. When we annexed the country, we found it in a state of anarchy and solution, and after sundry modifications, proceeded to crystallize it. In this process we have raised the depths and depressed the heights, while the general level of comfort is lower than it was. When a rigid system of law is superimposed on an anarchic country, the gain or loss of the conflicting elements in that country will be in proportion to their capacity or incapacity of adapting themselves to the new conditions, their ability or inability to comprehend and utilise the altered situation. Without forming any extravagant estimate of the mental calibre of the Oudh Taluqdárs, it may safely be asserted that they possess a larger measure of this adaptive faculty than belongs to the village communities, and the loss of the latter has been the gain of the former.

One of the principal causes of the depressed condition of the village brotherhoods is probably to be found in the fact that they have very generally been engaged in Settlement litigation and, whether successful or not in establishing their rights, have spent

large sums, both legally and illegally, in making the attempt. They hold their lands it is true at more favourable rates than ordinary tenants, but the difference is seldom sufficiently great to compensate for the disadvantage under which they labour of more expensive and less industrious habits; and the litigation to which they have had resort to obtain this privilege, has too often left them not only without capital, but deeply indebted to the village money-lender.

Another cause which has done much to depress their condition is the great diminution of the only source of subsistence, besides the land, which was previously open to them. Great numbers of Brahman Thákurs and Musalmáns were, until the Mutiny, employed as soldiers in the service of the Company or in the local army, and as retainers of the Taluqdárs. The great reduction of the native army since the Mutiny and the abolition of the Oudh local force have greatly reduced the numbers of those who can thus find employment; while the establishment of the reign of law within the province has rendered the services of a large body of retainers or *dwálbands* no longer needful to the Taluqdárs. It may, of course, be said that such employment as this could not much increase the real wealth of the country, and that the application to the land of the additional labour thus released from unproductive employments must cause such an increase. But it must be remembered that though a soldier or a *dwálband* is not a directly productive agent, yet their pay was a distinct and very considerable addition to the resources of their families. The remittances of one or two soldiers, sons or brothers out of a family, often went a long way towards paying the rent of those who remained behind, and were almost an equivalent to a rent-free holding. Now that the extent of this resource is so greatly narrowed, the man who would formerly have been supporting himself elsewhere, and helping his stay-at-home brethren to pay their rents, is little more than an additional mouth to be fed. The labour of a Brahman or Rájpút, moreover, is seldom of a highly productive character, and in so densely populated and closely cultivated a country as Oudh can barely be held an equivalent to the cost of his own support.

While one great source from which rent was formerly paid has been thus diminished, the rent itself has been very largely increased. The current Government demand is heavier than it was under the summary settlement, by no less than forty-two per cent, and there can be little doubt that the rise of rents has been at least proportional to that of revenue. Cases are by no means uncommon where the amount payable by the under-proprietor has been more than doubled. It is impossible not to ask where the increase is to come from. No one, so far as is generally known, ever suspected the

village communities of being overburthened with a superfluity of wealth when the country passed into our hands; and even had it been so, and if the expenses of Settlement litigation had not relieved them of it, it is surely too much to expect that in a single year their habits should undergo so complete a change as would be necessary to enable them to meet so large and sudden an increase of demand. No very prophetic soul was needed to foretell the result, which is that the village brotherhoods are very generally and deeply involved in arrears of revenue or rent, and in accumulated debt. It has been too much forgotten that what we have to assess is not only land, but also *men*. It is practically impossible for a village divided and subdivided with infinite intricacies among a numerous brotherhood to pay a demand which might be met without much difficulty if the village were in the hands of a single owner, and no such complications existed.

Another point worth noting is that the hands of the rent courts are tied and bound by a provision of the Rent Act (XVIII of 1869), which prohibits them from taking into consideration circumstances, such as bad seasons, floods, or drought, which may have given rise to a default in payment of rent, unless a remission of revenue has been allowed by competent authority for the same cause and in the same estate. Now it rests with the Taluqdár to apply for such a remission, and as it is the direct interest of a Taluqdár to get rid of privileged cultivators and supplant them with hardworking tenants-at-will, it may often not be worth his while to apply for a remission of revenue which would put the privileged cultivators, *pro tanto*, out of his power. The sum of which he and they would thus escape the payment may, especially if the cause of default extend over only a limited area, be a trifle to him, though possibly a matter of life and death to them. Still more is it the interest of the Taluqdár to destroy and break down under-proprietary rights in subsettled villages, and to engage directly with Government for the payment of the revenue assessed on them. It would often, therefore, be worth his while to allow arrears to accumulate up to the period of limitation, and thus to sell up the under-proprietors. That this has been less frequently attempted than might have been anticipated is probably due to the impecunious condition of the Taluqdárs, to whom a sum of ready money generally is a so pressing necessity as not to leave them at liberty to consult their ultimate interest. The fact remains, however, that we have left the under-proprietors to be dealt with by men whose ultimate interest it is that they should default. Altogether, we have not left ourselves very much right to be virtuously indignant with the under-proprietor if he forms the same determination with regard to the Taluqdár and ourselves at which Goldsmith's vagabond friend arrived,

concerning his stingy master and the still more stingy housekeeper, —“ As they endeavoured to starve me between them, I made a pious resolution to prevent their committing murder.”

The only agricultural class remaining to be considered is that of the Taluqdárs—if, indeed, a class may be called agricultural whose only connection with agriculture is the expenditure of the rents paid to it by agriculturists. What, then, is the condition of the two-hundred-and-fifty-six gentlemen who form the apex of the rural system in Oudh, and of the larger number of smaller landholders, who, though differing in sundry other respects, resemble the Taluqdárs in the main feature of being supported by the rents of the lands over which they exercise rights of ownership? A glance at the paper theory of their existence would lead one to imagine an opulent and flourishing body of landed proprietors, with little to do but to collect the Government revenue of which they retain a portion varying from ten to fifty per cent for their trouble; except, indeed, the altogether subsidiary functions of maintaining order on their estates, improving agriculture, and ameliorating the condition of their tenantry. In practice, however, it has been generally found that their principal function of collecting the revenue has been of so absorbing and engrossing a nature, as to leave them little leisure for the discharge of those minor duties, the performance of which, however, be it observed, is expressly stipulated in their sannads as among the conditions upon the fulfilment of which the maintenance of their status by Government is to be dependent. The fact is that very few Taluqdárs realise the full income of which they are officially supposed to be in enjoyment. Not a few are unable even to meet the Government demand out of their collections, as the Superintendents of Encumbered Estates are in a position to testify. A few, no doubt, do realise their collections in full, and do, so far, at least, as opulence is concerned, fulfil the governmental theory of their existence, but a large majority occupy a position intermediate between these two extremes, and while they pay the Government demand, collect a certain sum over and above on which they themselves subsist, with more or less ease, according to the width of the margin and their personal habits of economy or extravagance. Their failure, as a rule, to collect the full amount to which they are legally entitled is due to a plurality of causes, the chief of which is not unfrequently over-assessment. Blood cannot be got out of a stone, neither can money, except in small quantities and with considerable pressure, be obtained from an impoverished and generally hostile tenantry. The natural difficulties of the situation have been aggravated by the imbecility and bad management of the Taluqdárs themselves, as well as by the rascality of their agents. The inadequacy of the existing law to enable

a decree-holder to realise the amount of his decree should also be taken into consideration. Not that its amendment, while other things remain as they are, is for a moment to be advocated. The evils of an unequal and over-heavy assessment are to some extent mitigated by the imperfection of the legal means for its realisation; and it is surely preferable that a body of men to whom we have sacrificed so much and so vainly as we have sacrificed to the Oudh Taluqdárs should benefit somewhat less by our rule in practice than they benefit in theory, than that the village brotherhoods should, as would too often be the case, be brought to absolute ruin.

It is a choice of evils, for it is an undoubted evil, though the lesser of the two, that the impotence of the law should be the security of the people. By all means let the discrepancy between the theory and practice of the law be removed; but if the attempt to remove it be made merely by improving the law of distraint while leaving the present assessment unaltered, the burthen will in many cases be simply shifted from the shoulders of the Taluqdárs, who are more able to bear it, to those of the village brotherhoods, who are less able.

But what, we must ask, is the condition of the Taluqdárs, as a body, now, compared with what it was twenty years ago? Intrinsically, probably, they have changed but little. A thin veneer of semi-civilisation somewhat obscures the rude features of the lawless freebooter under the guise of the modern landlord; but the alteration is only skin-deep. So far as tastes and inclinations are concerned, it may safely be said that, with a number of exceptions which might almost be counted on one's fingers, they have not changed at all; the only real alteration is the loss of their former vigour, resulting from its disuse, which, as it was seldom directed towards any very desirable object, is not, on the whole, to be regretted. No less liberal, less expanded, or less useful mode of existence could well be conceived than the life of squalid, tawdry, pretentious discomfort led by nineteen Taluqdárs out of twenty. Pecuniarily speaking, they are probably more embarrassed now than they were before annexation; not, perhaps, more deeply in debt, but more *embarrassed*—the demands of the Government and of their creditors, being far more rigid and stringent now than in the days of the Nawábí. In justice to them it should be remembered, however, that they have been placed by us in a position demanding the exercise of intelligence and energy, both financial and administrative, not to speak of justice and moderation, qualities which they could not reasonably have been expected to possess. The fault is more ours for having put them in positions which they were, as a rule, utterly incapable of occupying, than their's for having failed

to fulfil their functions satisfactorily. Under native government they were the natural outcome of the social and political forces at work, and probably had their uses. We have changed the social and political conditions of the country by substituting contract for status, law for force, and the uses of the Taluqdárs have ceased to be. An order of imbecile Front de Bœufs can never be a very valuable element in any community, least of all in a community subject to the reign of law.

This brief review of the four classes which compose the agricultural population of Oudh has exhibited a body of depressed day-labourers ; a body of rack-rented tenants-at-will, who either are, or are rapidly becoming, cottiers ; struggling and impoverished village brotherhoods ; and lastly, an apex worthy of the foundation on which it rests, in a body of generally embarrassed and all but universally unimproving landlords.

This truly lamentable state of things appears to be due principally to over-population and scarcity of food, aggravated by serious defects in our revenue system. While these things are thus, of what use is it for a Government to devote its time and its money to anything but direct action upon the sources of the evil ? While the millions are starving, we might as well try to make a pyramid stand upon its apex, as attempt to regenerate them by ornamental legislation, or by anything but putting them beyond the ceaseless pressure of physical want.

When, however, over-population is insisted on as the main cause of the evils under which the province is literally groaning, most people will probably feel inclined to throw up their hands in despair. And, indeed, the task of relieving an over-crowded and inland country like Oudh is of the most difficult. What, it may be asked, *can* any Government do for a people whose day-labourers with a precarious income of from *fifteen to eighteen pence a week*, if paid in cash, and *four pounds a day of coarse grain* if paid in kind, habitually marry at seventeen or eighteen, and have half-a-dozen miserable, half-starved children by the time they are five-and-twenty ? To which question the answer must be that for such a class as this, so long as its habits remain unchanged, no Government can do anything. A people whose habits are so hopelessly anti-Malthusian, and among whom improvements in production are unknown, can only be kept alive, paradoxical as it may sound, by famine, slaughter, or disease. Where moral or prudential restraints on multiplication have no existence, the physical checks of starvation and disease can alone maintain the balance between the number of mouths to be filled, and the quantity of food available to fill them. Population and subsistence are always running an endless race, and the material well-being of any society depends, *cæteris paribus*, on the extent to which it can succeed in handi-

capping population. It is, of course, a physical impossibility for population actually to *outrun* subsistence ; but it may press on it so closely as to leave no margin upon which men may pause a breathing space, no interval of rest which they can devote to any higher aim than the provision for merely physical needs. The well-being of mankind is mainly dependent on the possession and good use of such a margin. To use it well is as important as to possess it, but it must be possessed before it can be used at all. How, then, if at all, is such a margin to be secured for the people of Oudh ?

It must be once more repeated, with an iteration which is only not damnable because it is so very indispensable, that it is impossible to do anything which shall permanently benefit this people so long as their tendency to multiplication exists in undiminished strength for so long any amelioration of their condition will only enable them to multiply somewhat more freely. While inability to procure a minimum of the coarsest possible food continues to be the only check to the increase of population, it will continue to be worse than useless to move the check a little further back, for the only possible result of so doing will be to increase the number of beings whose existence can hardly fail to be a curse to themselves and others. Any addition to the numerator of that miserable vulgar fraction of life which they possess must inevitably lead to a corresponding increase of its denominator, and the fraction itself will be no larger than before. Unless, then, we can alter their habits, unless we can raise the standard of living to which they are accustomed, and to habituate them to a higher standard than rather than forego it they will refrain from multiplying, we had better sit still and do nothing. If, for instance, we could make wheaten flour the habitual food of the poorest class, and accustom them to two meals a day instead of one for a sufficiently long period to make them regard these things as more indispensable to them than having a large number of children, we should do them a real benefit. But if we merely enable a larger number of persons to subsist on one meal of pulse a day, we should be doing harm rather than good.

Now, is it possible thus to alter their habits, and if so by what means ? The answer is that the thing has been done before, and may be done again, by the adoption of means similar to those which have elsewhere proved successful. Let us turn again to Mr. Mill, who, while insisting more emphatically than any other recent economist upon the impossibility of permanently benefiting the poorer classes except by restraining their tendency to increase, has also asserted with greater intensity of conviction than any other writer the possibility of modifying that tendency. In that part of the second book of his *Political Economy* which deals with the remedies for low wages, he thus writes :—

" A sudden and very great improvement of the condition of the
 " poor has always, through its effects on their habits of life, a
 " chance of becoming permanent. What happened at the time of the
 " French Revolution is an example.....The majority of the
 " population being suddenly raised from misery to independence
 " and comparative comfort, the immediate effect was that popula-
 " tion, notwithstanding the destructive wars of the period, started
 " forward with unexampled rapidity.....The succeeding gene-
 " ration, however, grew up with habits considerably altered.....
 " In the purpose of altering the habits of the labouring people,
 " there is needed a two-fold action, directed simultaneously upon
 " their intelligence and their poverty. An effective national
 " education of the children of the labouring class is the first thing
 " needful; and, coincidently with this, a system of measures
 " which shall, as the Revolution did in France, extinguish extreme
 " poverty for one whole generation."

To begin with the question of education:—it cannot be denied
 that we have at our disposal means for influencing the minds
 of the children of the poorer, and, to some extent, of the very
 poorest classes—means of which we have hitherto made hardly
 any use at all. We have schools all over the country, which
 are attended by large numbers of children drawn from the ranks
 of all the agricultural classes except the highest, and it is for
 us to decide on the nature of the books to be studied there.
 Hitherto the books in use have consisted mainly of childish
 fables, absurd mythological stories, and the barest skeleton out-
 lines of history and geography. Would it not be well that these
 school children, while learning to read, should at the same time
 learn something which might conceivably be of some practical
 use to them in life? The notion of teaching Political Economy
 in village schools may seem Utopian, but it would be perfectly
 possible to state, in half a dozen pages of moderate size, the
 principles of population and subsistence in a form so concrete
 and simple as to be readily intelligible to any child capable of
 understanding, not to say of applying, the four rules of arithmetic.
 Any child can comprehend that a field the produce of which is
 sufficient to support five people will not equally well support ten,
 even though double the amount of labour should be bestowed
 upon it; or that five rupees divided as wages among twenty
 workmen will give them four annas each, while if it is divided among
 forty workmen they will get but two annas a piece. That is prac-
 tically, the whole theory of population and subsistence, and it is,
 surely, as likely to impress a boy's mind as the information that
 Constantinople is the capital of Turkey, and, once apprehended,
 indefinitely more likely to do him actual service in life than an
 intimate familiarity with the exploits of Shrí Krishna or Hanumán.

Similarly, the enormous increase in the fertility of soil caused by irrigation might be inculcated. Such sentences as, 'Irrigated land yields twice as much as unirrigated,' 'One pakka well will water thirty bighas of land,' might alternate in copy books with, 'Men increase faster than food can be grown to feed them,' 'The more mouths to feed, the less there is for each,' and similar gems from Malthus. If the matter were seriously taken up, much more might be done to popularise sound notions on economical questions than would at first sight be supposed. An acquaintance with the outlines of the theory of population might be required from every school-master, and its constant inculcation on his pupils prescribed. The fundamental doctrines of political economy, all those which it especially concerns a labouring class to know, are as simple and obvious and concrete as they can possibly be; and if they were once absorbed into the minds of, say, even five per cent of the boys who attend our schools, they would gradually filter through the various strata of native society. The agency of the native press might also be utilised. There are, doubtless, other means by which we might economically educate the people, but these are the most obvious, and no attempt has yet been made to employ them. When they have been tried it will be time enough to find out others. Whether the results thus produced would be great or small, can only be tested by making the experiment; but, if, as seems to be demonstrable, it is only by understanding and obeying the law of population that the economical salvation of the people can be worked out by them for themselves, it is surely our duty to put them, so far as we can, in the way of gaining sound notions on the subject. We cannot at a stroke elevate the masses into models of prudence and virtue, but we can introduce an agricultural and economical catechism into our schools, and we can require vernacular newspapers to publish Government resolutions and advice. We cannot make the horse drink, but can we not at least increase the chances of his doing so by leading him to the water.

It remains to enquire by what means, if any, we may "extinguish extreme poverty for one whole generation."

For the attainment of this end, Mr. Mill proposes two measures, neither of which is directly applicable to the circumstances of Oudh—colonization on a large scale, and "the devotion of all common land hereafter brought into cultivation, to raising a class of small proprietors." Emigration from Oudh could hardly be made sufficiently extensive to have any very appreciable effect on the condition of those who remained behind. It is something, no doubt, to have such outlets of escape as Trinidad and Demerara open to those who find that they can no longer carry on the struggle for existence at home. It is a great advantage to those who go, but

the number of these will always, probably, be too small to sensibly relieve those who do not. If emigration from Oudh were ever attempted on a large scale, the best field for locating the emigrants would probably be found to be the more thinly peopled tracts of country in the Central Provinces.

As for Mr. Mill's second specific, the creation of a class of small proprietors, it may be said, perhaps, that we have these already in abundance. But *have* we? Are the petty cultivators of Oudh really peasant proprietors? If a peasant proprietor means a peasant who either owns the land he cultivates, or holds it at a rent fixed either by law or custom, and not abandoned to competition, then the village brotherhoods, indeed, are such proprietors; but the great mass of cultivators, the Kurmis, Muraos, Káchis, Ahírs, Chamárs and all the rest, are nothing of the kind, or are fast ceasing to be anything of the kind. So long as, and in proportion as their rents were fixed by custom, they were peasant proprietors. But, as we have seen, custom as the determining agency of rent is rapidly giving place to competition, and, as a consequence, the great mass of ordinary cultivators are rapidly sinking into the condition of cottiers, and into all the miseries which a cottier tenure involves. What is wanted to arrest this lamentable process is a measure which shall fix their rents for at least a considerable period, the term of settlement being probably the most appropriate. That fixation of rent which was formerly the result of custom, must now be brought about by law. A custom cannot be revived except by crystallizing it into a law. The only other alternative is one which is proving and still more and more will prove ruinous to the cultivators, and that is to leave their rents to be adjusted by competition. No talk about the virtues of *laissez-faire* and unrestricted freedom of contract will meet the case. As we have fixed the rent to be paid by ex-zamíndárs for their sír land, so should we fix it for all land. The cultivators stand as much, or more, in need of protection from each other's competition as any other class. The rent payable for a term of thirty years on every field in the country, according to the classification of soils, should be fixed by the settlement courts, and during the term of settlement, there should be no power of enhancement, nor, so long as the rent thus fixed is paid, of ejectment. Our settlements would then be fixed on a really reliable basis, instead of being, as at present, to a great extent, mere guess work. And, what is far more important, every cultivator would no longer be at the mercy of every other cultivator a little worse off than himself, who may undertake to pay a somewhat higher rent. The petty cultivators would, in short, be genuine peasant proprietors, instead of being what, at the present rate, they will within twenty years have become, simple cottiers. This principle of a legal fixation of rents we have followed in the case of sír-holders,

and, to some extent, in that of tenants with rights of occupancy. But we have made the mistake, in many instances, of fixing the rates too high. If the principle were universally applied, and these errors of detail corrected, Oudh tenures would, with one important exception to be noticed further on, be on a very fairly satisfactory footing.

Improvements in tenure, however, will not, directly at least, benefit the landless labourers. Their prime necessity is the possession of greater purchasing power over food, which can only be obtained for them in two ways, either by increasing their wages, or cheapening food, or both. Nearly all that we can reasonably expect to do in the former direction we do already, by largely employing labour on public works; but in the direction of cheapening food there is much that is not but might be done. What is wanted to cheapen food is to increase the facilities for producing it, and the one great facility needed, in India, is irrigation. Whether the objections which have proved fatal to the Sardah canal were conclusive or no, they cannot, at any rate, apply to irrigation from wells. So narrow are the proportions to which the system of Takávi or advances for agricultural improvements has as yet attained, that it is difficult not to under-estimate the results which might be reached by a perfectly practicable expansion of it. A masonry well may in most parts of Oudh be constructed at an expense of 200 rupees or £20, and such a well will thoroughly irrigate, at the lowest estimate, ten acres of land. Irrigation of previously unirrigated land may be said, roughly speaking, to double its produce. Thus, at an expenditure of one million sterling, to be ultimately repaid, fifty-thousand wells, irrigating and doubling the produce of five hundred thousand acres, might be constructed. Irrigation is the best possible preventive of drought and consequently of famine, and the best possible security for cheapness and plenty. If what has been done be compared with what might be done, the discrepancy is startling. In 1868-69 the amount of advances made for agricultural improvements was Rs. 1,15,867. Ever since then it has been steadily falling, and, in 1872-73 amounted to the contemptible sum of Rs. 16,523. "The reasons for this," says para. 319 of the last Administration Report, "are not far to seek; these loans are chiefly taken for the construction of irrigation wells, and the last two years having been years of excessive rain, the want of irrigation wells has not been felt by the people. And besides this, several applications for Takávi were rejected, because the land to be irrigated from the proposed well was within the area which would have been watered by the Sardah Canal had that project been carried into execution."

These reasons, however, are purely local and temporary, and cannot be held to account for the generally scanty growth of the

system. The maximum amount to which Takávi advances have ever attained in Oudh, viz., Rs. 1,15,867 in 1868-69, was but the hundred-and-eleventh part of the then land revenue of the province, £1,280,000. The land revenue at present amounts to £1,480,000 of which the sum devoted to Takávi advances was very little more than a nine-hundredth part.

Is this such a portion of his income as an enlightened landed proprietor might be expected to devote annually to the permanent improvement of his estate? The real causes which have hindered the extension of the system are mainly the vexatious conditions imposed on the borrowers, and the cumbrous mass of returns and *nakshas* connected with it, by which any zeal that might otherwise have been felt for its propagation, on the part of district officers, has been so effectually smothered. The rules to be observed should be of the simplest and briefest possible nature, and no return should be required beyond the mere statement of the amount advanced, the name of the borrower, the purpose for which the loan is required, and a specification of the land hypothecated for its repayment. Apart from imperfections of the system itself, there are plenty of causes in the character and circumstances of the people which have prevented them from applying for loans. Short-sightedness, apathy, suspicion of the motives of Government, dread of consequences of failure, and last, but by no means least, the superior lucrativeness of *mahájani* as an investment for spare capital, are deterring influences sufficiently stringent to necessitate considerable attractiveness on the part of any scheme which is to counteract them. So far from this, the repayment of the instalments of the advance within three years is required, that is, long before the work yields a profit equal to the instalment due; and collateral security, in addition to the hypothecation of the land to be improved, is enforced. The result of the first of these restrictions, that which requires repayment within three years, is, that the borrower has to pay $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of the amount advanced per annum; while the improvement can hardly yield more than 15 per cent. He has thus to advance 55 per cent of the capital himself. He is merely enabled, as it were, to buy the well ready made from a builder who gives him three years credit and charges no interest. This inducement is not sufficiently strong. The period fixed for repayment should be regulated by the probable percentage of profits. Advances should only be made for works likely to yield at least twelve per cent on the outlay, and the term of repayment should be extended to eight years or less, according to the probability, to be estimated at the time of the advance, of the profits equalling the outlay in eight years or sooner. Secondly, a low rate of interest should be charged instead of collateral security.

A charge of two or three per cent would be gladly borne, as the borrower has to pay more than that already to the *mahájan* who gives security for him. This might allay the natural suspicion felt by a native for all free gratis action ; and it would not be novel, for, until 1855, interest on such advances was charged at the rate of *twelve* per cent per annum, under section 10 of Regulation XXXIII of 1793. The requisition of collateral security is condemned in the " Directions to Collectors," on the ground that it " entails expense on the person it is intended to benefit, and " materially detracts from the value of the boon." A Takávi advance is legally recoverable by the same process as an arrear of land revenue, and the land hypothecated for its liquidation is amply sufficient security.

Thus, the extension of the Takávi system appears to have three main requisites—the discontinuance of all returns except the one above mentioned, the extension of the term of repayment ; and the charge of a low rate of interest instead of collateral security ; changes for the accomplishment of which nothing but a stroke of the pen is necessary, and the effect of which could hardly fail to be, in some degree, and might be in the highest degree, beneficial.

The adoption of the two measures just advocated—fixation of rents, and extension of irrigation, would probably do much to improve the condition of the ordinary tenants and labourers, and the latter, indeed, by cheapening food, would be a relief to all classes of the population. But would they, by themselves, however completely they were carried out, and however fruitful in results they might prove, be sufficient to render the agricultural system of Oudh a reasonable and satisfactory one ; to make it a system of which the main outlines could be considered conformable to rational principles ? No ; the agricultural system of Oudh can never be reasonable or satisfactory until either the Taluqdári settlement is abolished, or the character of the Taluqdárs themselves is utterly and radically altered, one might almost say, reversed.

The Taluqdári system was adopted as a *pis aller* under the stress of political exigencies ; and its adoption would have been a heavy price to pay for deliverance from those difficulties, had they been ten times as pressing as they were. It is hardly needful to attack the Taluqdári principle considered absolutely. No reasonable man, probably, will maintain that a body of unimproving landlords, whose one concern with the land is to derive the largest possible income from it, and whose expenditure is as purely unproductive as it is possible for expenditure to be, can be anything but a burthen to the country which has the misfortune to contain them ; or that, if they demoralise and oppress their tenants by rack-renting and extortion, not to speak of acts of a still darker complexion, they are

not a curse as well as a burthen. That the Taluqdárs of Oudh, with a very small number of exceptions, are such a body of landlords, no one, probably, who has any acquaintance with the province will deny. Let us turn once again to Mr. Mill. "Whenever," he writes, "in any country, the proprietor, generally speaking, ceases to be the improver, political economy has nothing to say in defence of landed property as there established. In no sound theory of private property was it ever contemplated that the proprietor of law should be merely a sinecurist quartered upon it. When private property in land is not expedient, it is unjust. The claim of the land owners to the law is altogether subordinate to the general policy of the state. The principle of property gives them no right to the law, but only a right to compensation for whatever portion of their interest in land it may be the policy of the state to deprive them of." It is needless to dwell on the radical distinction between property in land and property in other things. The theoretic basis of private property in land is that it is for the ultimate good even of those who are apparently excluded from all share in the land, and that the self-interest of the landowner will induce him to make the land under his control as productive as possible. Where this ceases to be the case, private property in land falls to the ground. And as regards the Taluqdárs of Oudh, it is certainly not the case. The Taluqdárs' self-interest, their desire of wealth, is less a productive than a *predatory* impulse. The public cannot count on the Taluqdárs' doing their best by the land, but it can count on the tenants doing so, if the latter are secure of reaping the benefit of their exertions.

The Taluqdári system, then, looked at abstractedly, is utterly indefensible. Unfortunately, however, we are precluded from looking at it in this absolute way, or rather, are under the necessity of also regarding it from a concrete or historical point of view. The system, though not of our creation, has been adopted and sanctioned by us, and cannot be put an end to by a stroke of the pen.

That the Government of India has a perfect right to abolish the system, cannot, without contravening all sound principles of jurisprudence, be denied; and the act could, in no intelligible sense, be called illegal, though, if carried out without compensation to the Taluqdárs, it would, no doubt, be unconstitutional, that is, it would be inconsistent with the principles of Government which we have hitherto observed. But the supposition that we are in any way bound to the perpetual maintenance of the system, either by the Sannads which we have granted, or by Act I of 1859, (which defines the position of Taluqdárs), is flatly opposed both to jurisprudence and common sense. The substance, in short, of what the Government might, with perfect fairness practically say to the Taluqdárs, would be something not unlike this:—The

experience of eighteen years has shown us that the fulfilment of our express contract with you two hundred and fifty six gentlemen is incompatible with the fulfilment of that tacit, but not, therefore, less binding contract with the seven or eight millions who compose the agricultural population of Oudh, which arises from the simple fact of our having undertaken the task of governing them. The compacts, as compacts, are equally binding, but if the observance of the former be found inconsistent with that of the latter, the question necessarily arises, which is the more important of the two? a question which, in our opinion, is sufficiently answered by its mere statement. We hold our duty to the great mass of the people to be almost infinitely the paramount consideration, and sorry as we are to take a step which you will no doubt consider, or at least declaim against, as a breach of faith, we are constrained to admit that we made a mistake in 1858 from the consequences of which we have been suffering ever since. You have completely disappointed the expectations we had formed of you. We have no wish, however, to indulge in useless reproaches. All that we have to say is that this state of things must cease, or we will cease. Hitherto, we have been in the position of the masters of a school, consisting of a few big boys and a great many little ones. Finding that you were both inclined to be troublesome, and that the little boys were led away by your influence to rebel, and also being very much occupied at the time with other business, we agreed to give you certain privileges and powers over the little boys, in return for which you were yourselves to submit, and undertake to keep them quiet, the little boys themselves being, as a matter of course, not consulted in the matter. We now find that these poor little children are in a state of misery and discomfort which we can only describe as frightful, and that, so long as your present position is maintained, there appears to be no reasonable prospect of relieving their condition. The conclusion then at which we are reluctantly forced to arrive is that your privileges must be materially curtailed.

Such a statement would, of course, be received by those to whom it was addressed with a prolonged and universal howl; to which, however, it would not be necessary that the Government should pay any particular attention. If there is one body of men more than another whose wrath we can, politically speaking, afford to despise, and whose dislike of any measure intended to benefit the agricultural masses should be taken as its strongest recommendation, that body consists of the Taluqdárs of Oudh.

It might indeed be argued that the Taluqdárs, having flagrantly violated the conditions of their sannads, have lost all right to compensation. The fact of the violation is undeniable. They undertook to maintain all subordinate rights. Is it not notorious

that they have almost universally tried, and too often succeeded in the attempt, to break down subordinate rights? They undertook to improve and extend agriculture. Can any one point out an improvement which they have executed, or any other assistance which they have given to agriculture? But this argument, whatever its legal merits, savours too much of sharp practice to be recommended for adoption. To this extent, however, it should carry weight, viz., that in awarding compensation for such of their rights as the Government may see fit to resume, nothing but the strictest justice, the most rigorous measure, should be allowed them, and no doubtful points should be given in their favour. Their breach of the conditions of their sannads, though it should not be held to disqualify them for compensation, would distinctly, under anything like liberality or generosity in awarding such compensation, be mere culpable weakness and a reward of iniquity. The true theoretical position of Taluqdárs under the Native Government was probably that of hereditary tax-gatherers with a percentage on their collection, whether they were originally anything more than this, or not, it is at any rate inexpedient that they should be anything more than this now. To this position they should be made to revert, and their percentage limited to a maximum of, say, one-tenth. For the difference between this amount and that to which we have allowed them to acquire a prescriptive right, they are, in equity at least, entitled to compensation. They are utterly unfit to be trusted with any powers of enhancement or ejectment. All that they can be safely permitted to do is to collect the sum authoritatively assessed on each field and to sue for the ejectment of any occupant of land who does not pay that amount. It need hardly be said that the accomplishment of such a revolution as this would be a work of exceeding difficulty and complication. It would have to provide not only for the estates of Taluqdárs, technically so called, but also for the lands which have passed out of their hands by sale or transfer, as well as for the estates of minor landlords. But the task is worthy to be reckoned with those for the successful achievement of which Germany venerates the memory of Stein and Hardenberg, and Ireland will one day bless the name of Gladstone. The regeneration of a country so impoverished, distracted, and disorganized as Oudh can under no circumstances be anything but difficult, and without the abolition of this pernicious system, seems well-nigh impossible. The country is far too poor to maintain such an excrescence in its agricultural system, as a body of unimproving landlords; and though light assessments and good seasons may, for a time, prevent the burthen from being so heavily felt, yet so long as that excrescence remains it can hardly be anything but poor.

The only alternative is that the landlords should not only

improve themselves but be the cause of improvement in others, and of such a consummation what reasonable hope can be entertained? How can even the successors of the present Taluqdárs, brought up as they are, and are likely to be, be expected to acquire the qualities of foresight, self-restraint, energy, enlightenment, justice, the general diffusion of which throughout their ranks could alone save them from becoming what their fathers now are,—a burthen and a curse to the country? So remote a possibility need hardly be discussed here.

It would be presumption to attempt to enter here into the particulars of any scheme by which the exfranchisement of the land from the corrupt and corrupting influence of the Taluqdárs might be accomplished. The discussion of these could only be usefully attempted by persons of far greater experience than the writer. But this much may perhaps be said without blame, that whatever the measures adopted, whether to raise the intelligence of the people, or to improve their external condition, the real, and for the present, the ultimate end of such measures, should never be lost sight of, *viz.*, the elevation of the standard of comfort, and the extinction of extreme poverty among the poorer classes. All means for the attainment of this result should be adopted simultaneously, not successively. Otherwise, their effect will be frittered away uselessly, and more than counterbalanced by the stimulus which they will give to population. The improvement in the condition of the people must, to be of any permanent benefit, be great enough and sudden enough to improve their habits even though population should increase at its most rapid rate.

One word in explanation of the phrase used above—"for the present, the ultimate end"—may not be superfluous, lest it should be suspected to denote forgetfulness of any higher aim than "barley feeding and material ease." Nothing could be further from the writer's intention, and there are probably few firmer believers in the uses of adversity than himself. But there are degrees of suffering which not only render any moral or material growth impossible, but corrupt and degrade the sufferer. Semi-starvation is one of these. "What human virtue can be expected of the man who is holding a wolf by the ears?" All sorrow is potential force; but it can only become actual force by being assimilated with the constitution of the mind, and transmuted into intensity of soul; as heavy rain renders worthless for a time the soil on which it lies in flood, and only strengthens and fertilises it when absorbed. Suffering which cannot be thus absorbed is worse than useless as an educational agency, and if it is not pure evil, there can be no such thing as pure evil in the universe. This again, to quote *Sordello*, is that

".....dismal brake of prickly pear
Which bristling holds Cydippe by the hair,
James barefoot Agathon: this felled, we'll try
The picturesque achievements by and by."

To any one who has read these pages it hardly needs to be said that they contain no attempt to advance any economical novelty, and no pretensions to any peculiar intimacy with the inner details of Indian agricultural life. But the broad facts of the question and the conclusions to be drawn from them seem sufficiently plain to justify the attempt, even without any special knowledge, to

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ART. VIII.—THE PSYCHOLOGY OF DREAMS.*

THE question of the origin of the imagery of dreams, often so novel in its combinations, so startling in its incongruities, so sudden in its transitions, and yet so seemingly real, has been a source of stupid wonder, or futile speculation to the curious among mankind in all ages. Men who held not merely that the soul and the body were separate entities, but that their connection was capable of interruption and renewal during lifetime, have found no difficulty in believing that the soul during sleep actually leaves the body, to wander abroad with a freedom from physical conditions not permitted to that grosser structure. Others, convinced of the perpetual presence of things unseen at ordinary times, have regarded dreams as direct communications of the world of spirits with the human soul. Even to those who have been convinced that the dream-world, with all that it contains, is the product of mental action, the cause of the apparent objectivity of its images has seemed difficult or impossible of explanation. That a sense of the presence of an external environment has become, through habit, an inevitable adjunct of consciousness, which, if not supplied from without, the brain is compelled to create for itself; that even in waking life purely mental images are, in certain states, projected into space, and endowed with a delusive objectivity, are circumstances which seem hardly to have suggested themselves in connection with the subject.

We propose in the present article to notice in an imperfect way some of the chief points in which the action of the brain in dreams appears to us to resemble, or to differ from, that of the waking state, and to describe briefly what we believe to be the true explanation of the illusion by which externality is attributed to the purely mental imagery of which dreams consist.

Notwithstanding certain striking differences in the resulting states of consciousness, there is every reason to believe that the brain action concerned in dreams is made up for the most part of elements of the same kind as that which takes place in the waking state. In both conditions the ultimate elements of our states of consciousness are of a twofold character, the products of actual sensation and of remembered sensations and ideas. The

* The explanation, given in this article, of the realistic interpretation of our mental images in dreams, was suggested by the writer, some years ago, elsewhere. Long subsequently the theory of interference was, the writer believes, independently put forward by M. Taine to account for our not attributing objective reality to our mental images in the waking state.

difference in the character of the result arises partly from a difference in the interpretation and order of the states of consciousness concerned, and partly from a variation in the proportion which the ultimate elements, composing them, bear to one another. As regards the first point, the difference in the interpretation appears to be chiefly or solely this—that states of consciousness which, in waking life, would be recognised as acts of the memory, or products of the imagination, and referred to past sensations, or to constructive efforts of the mind, are, in dream life, regarded as the products of present sensation. As regards the second point, the proportion in which the two kinds of elements enter into our waking states of consciousness, is reversed in the dream state, actual sensations generally predominating in the former, but constituting only a small part of the materials of most of our dreams, though, it may well be, a larger part than is generally supposed.

The difference of interpretation has long been a source of perplexity to metaphysicians and philosophers ; and it is probably from the difficulty of explaining it, that has arisen most of the mystery with which the vulgar in all ages have invested dreams. Yet, it probably depends upon a very obvious and simple cause, namely, the presence in the one case, and the absence in the other, of actual sensations, recognised as such. The reason why in the waking state we do not refer to the external world the mental pictures of sensible objects which we construct or recollect, and the reason why in dreams we do so refer them, are closely related to one another. The chief reason why, in the former case, we do not refer to external objects states of consciousness not immediately depending on actual sensations, is the presence of contradictory sensations, which, being produced by external objects, are, in accordance with a well-known physical law, normally more vivid. It is some confirmation of this view, that, during the waking state, the more completely we exclude the access of sensations, the more closely our mental pictures come to simulate real ones. Ordinarily no mental image, either recollective or constructive, can be referred to an external object, which, if so referred, would intercept the image of any object actually present to our senses ; for two images cannot occupy the same place at the same time. The result of the interference of actual sensations is that the mental image, being generally the weaker of the two, gives way. On closing the eyes, though we are still prevented, by other sensations than those of sight, from being deceived as to the origin of purely mental images, yet such images, are capable of assuming a much nearer resemblance to reality, than when our eyes are open and we are subjected to actual sensations of sight inconsistent with them. In other words, our state of consciousness, as regards such images, approaches what would be our

state of consciousness as regards them in a dream, much more nearly when our eyes are closed than when they are open. But such images, however complex they may be in themselves, constitute but a portion of a still more complex state of consciousness, the rest of which is inconsistent with our referring them to external objects. The mere consciousness, for instance, of the fact that our eyes are closed is sufficient in itself to negative such an interpretation, since we are aware that, with our eyes closed, we should be unable to see external objects at all. Besides this, a multitude of sensations obtain access to the mind through other channels than the eye, and inform us where and under what circumstances we are. Now, during sleep, not only are our eyes closed, actually or virtually, without our knowing it, but we are also cut off, without being aware of it, from every other source of sensation capable of producing states of consciousness inconsistent with the reference to external objects, of those recollective or constructive states which have their origin within.

A much nearer approximation to the dream state is obtained when, instead of our being partially cut off from the external world by an artificial and conscious closure of any of our senses, a similar effect is brought about unintentionally and insensibly, by a withdrawal of the attention from actual sensations, and its concentration on states of consciousness of subjective origin ; and the deception is the more complete in proportion as this transfer of the attention is the more unconscious, and the construction or recollection that is going on in the mind attended with the less effort.

This objective interpretation of the images recollected or constructed by the mind in dreams will appear less surprising when we remember that a similar illusion is not uncommon in the waking state, under certain conditions of mental disease or excitement. Cases, notably that of the painter, Blake, are recorded, in which persons have possessed the power of conferring such apparent objectivity, at will, on the creations of their imagination, quenching, so to speak, by the vividness of the mental images formed, the sensations that would otherwise have interfered with them.

In many cases, irritation, occurring in the course of the afferent or sensory nerves, is, no doubt, in virtue of the law which leads us to refer the affection to their extremities, the source of such illusions. But there is a multitude of cases, among them that of the painter Blake, just mentioned, which it is quite impossible to explain in this way, and in which we must obviously look to the brain itself as the source of the illusion. Of the mode in which mental images may operate to quench interfering sensations, which they must do before, as in the case of the figures called up by Blake, they can supplant the images of external objects actually present to the sight, we know nothing certain. But we venture

to suggest that the sensory nerves may not only conduct to the brain those molecular movements which constitute sensation, but also be capable of taking on such motions from images formed in the brain; and that it is conceivable that, in certain cases, the motions thus communicated from within, outward, may be so vivid as to overpower the interfering currents set up from without, inward.

The other main point of difference between the mental operations of the dreaming and the waking state lies in the order of succession of the states of consciousness which occur in either.

This is a much more complicated and difficult subject than the other. It may, in the first place, we think, be broadly laid down that, in our dreams, as in our waking moments, this order is mainly determined by association of ideas. Indeed, it is probably so determined to a much greater extent in the dreaming than in the waking condition, owing to the absence, in the former, of those sensations which in the latter tend perpetually to divert or interrupt the order of our thoughts. The laws of association, too, are, without doubt, the same in either case, the incongruity which strikes us so much in dreams being caused, partly by the fact that every complex state of consciousness, and all the component parts of every complex state, are, with rare exceptions, equally interpreted as real; and, partly, by the absence of that control over the succession of ideas which, in the waking state, is exerted by actual sensations. Another source of incongruity is probably the exclusion from participation in the phenomena of consciousness of variable portions of the brain. There is little doubt, not only that every part of the brain and spinal cord is not always equally asleep, but that there is not unfrequently a considerable variation in the extent to which different parts are affected by sleep, at different times. If, as Professor Ferrier's observations place almost beyond doubt, different portions of the record of our sensations, and different faculties, occupy different portions of the substance of the brain, the effect which this fluctuation must have upon both the composition and the order of the states of consciousness which make up our dreams, is obvious.

We have explained above our opinion of the cause of the realistic interpretation of our mental recollections and constructions in dreams.

Let us now consider its effects. It is observable that, though habits of thought founded upon long experience, are contradicted by many of the constructive states of consciousness which occur in our dreams, such is not the case with any of the necessary laws of thought. We may dream of flying through the air, though we know by experience that men cannot fly; but we never dream, and cannot conceive of dreaming, of the part being greater than the

whole ; the greater contained within the less. As, in the waking state, all that we actually see is seen as contained within certain limits of space, determined by the nature and position of surrounding objects of sight, so, in the dreaming state, all that we imagine we see, is imagined as seen within similar boundaries. There is this distinction, however, in the mutual relation of the things seen, that, while in the waking state those things alone appear to be contained within the boundaries of our vision which are actually so contained, and consequently, except in cases of optical illusion, however strangely or unexpectedly things may be placed nevertheless, all the relations between them are consistent relations in respect of both place and time ; in the dream state, on the contrary, all mental images being equally interpreted as real, nothing is left to govern their consociation, but such necessary laws of thought as that the whole is greater than its part ; the greater cannot be contained within the less, and the like.

We may have an elephant in our parlour, if the parlour is only large enough to contain it ; indeed, if, while our imaginary vision—which, let it be remembered, is interpreted as real vision—remains bounded by the walls of an imaginary parlour—which are also interpreted as real—there should, from any cause, occur to our minds the image of an elephant—which, in virtue of the general law of interpretation, already adverted to, must appear equally real with the parlour—then, either the latter, if not originally large enough to contain the elephant, must disappear and give place to something more spacious, or must expand to contain the elephant, or on the other hand, the elephant must contract to adapt itself to the room.

In the waking state, while actually situated as we have supposed ourselves to be situated in the case of dreams, we are liable at any moment to form a mental image of an elephant ; but the image, since it will not appear real, will be posited, at the will of the thinker, in some locality, either like itself purely imaginary, or at all events outside the bounds of actual vision.

It strikes us, indeed, that if the entirety of our waking states of consciousness—namely, that portion of them which is referrible to actual sensations, as well as that which is recollective or constructive, were to be taken together as equally real, the difference in point of congruity between the various images which would thus be consociated as actual groups, and those which are so consociated in the dream state, would be much less considerable than is ordinarily supposed.

From the instance we have given of the mental image of an elephant, no matter how called up, compelling either the complete destruction or the modification, of the previous image of a room, it will be easily seen to how great an extent the abrupt and extra-

ordinary transitions of place, time, and circumstance, which characterize the dream state, may be explained by the exigencies of the law of interpretation above described. The external world of dream life is, in fact, entirely determined by the laws of association of ideas, instead of itself profoundly modifying their operation, as in waking life. It is, as if we were liable, not only to be at once transported to every place we thought of, but to have our entire surroundings modified more or less from time to time, in every part, to suit the least change occurring in any part, of them.

This necessity of referring to external objects, every image of a sensible object which occurs to the mind of the sleeper, fully accounts for the frequency and persistency with which we dream of the dead. It is an exceedingly difficult matter to think of a person with whose features one is familiar, without calling up the image of those features in the mind, and the fact of the person thought of being dead, in no degree diminishes the difficulty. But in dream life, to call up the image of a person is actually to see him; and, consequently, in dreams we seldom think of people whether dead or alive, without seeing them, or, in other words, we generally dream of seeing rather than of thinking of them.

If this theory of the cause of the apparent reality of the world of dreams be correct, it would seem to follow that, though we may dream of thinking, we cannot dream of imagining sensible objects, for such objects, being necessarily referred to the senses for their origin, would appear real, and become part and parcel of the general deception. We might, of course, dream of seeing a picture of a friend, but we could not dream of imagining the form of a friend. Our own experience of dream life confirms this. Though we have certainly dreamt of thinking, we do not remember ever to have dreamt of forming a mental picture of any sensible object.

Dream life, like waking life, has its past and its future, as well as its present, but its past and future differ from those of waking life in the absence of the picture forming faculty. In our dreams we recognise scenes and objects as having been previously perceived by the senses, but we never call up pictures of such scenes and objects independently, as by an act of memory, for whenever we call them up, we appear to see them again. From the fact that the memory of dream life is chiefly confined to recognition, it follows that we rarely dream of remembering at all in any other sense. That deliberate dwelling upon past scenes, which forms so large a part of the pleasure of imagination in real life is simply an impossibility in sleep.

The past of dream life, such as it is, is made up partly of the actual past of waking life and partly of a past of its own. These two pasts, however, are not at the time discriminated, for though we may recollect the actual past of our waking life in dreams, we

recollect it not as such, but as part of that dream life which alone appears real.

We have, in short, at that time no consciousness of any distinction between a real life and a dream life, except on rare occasions, when that series of more or less rapid physical changes which constitute the act of waking, has already set in, and, with one foot in the actual world and one foot in dream land, we become aware of the unreality of the latter. Often, in such cases, after going through some scene of terror, of the unreality of which we have had no suspicion, the conviction that it is but a dream suddenly flashes upon us; and nine times out of ten, before the consolation we derive from the discovery has had its full effect, we wake, feeling not seldom that it is by an effort of the will that we shake off the vision which has oppressed us.

We have remarked above that the proportion in which actual sensation and imagination, respectively, contribute to our waking states of consciousness, is reversed in dreams, actual sensation being to a great extent excluded from the latter, while it always commingles with, and often forms the predominant element in, the former. In what proportions, it may be asked, do the different classes of remembered sensations contribute to the imaginative element of which our dreams are mainly composed? We believe it will be generally agreed that the dream world consists for the most part of sights and sounds and of the former to a much greater extent than the latter; that we dream of tasting comparatively seldom—much more rarely, indeed, than of eating—and then but faintly; while we dream of smelling still less frequently, and more faintly. In other words, the remembered sensations chiefly concerned in dream consciousness, are sensations of sight and hearing, while those of taste and smell form but a comparatively unimportant element of the whole.

Though occasionally present to a painful degree, the sense of feeling is generally absent from our dreams. We move for the most part without being conscious of the resistance of the air, without even the sense of muscular motion; walk without feeling the ground; hold things without the sense of contact or of weight.

And this is precisely what we should expect from the comparative definiteness with which we are able to reproduce these different classes of sensation in our waking memory. The sensations which we remember most vividly, definitely, and easily, are those of sight and sound. To reproduce in imagination even the ghost of a taste, or a smell, or a sensation of touch, pleasant or painful, requires great effort; to imagine such sensations with any thing approaching the vividness of reality, is probably impossible with most men.

Then, again, as regards remembered sensations of sight and sound, just as it is much easier to picture vividly form than colour,* and articulate, or musical, sounds than inarticulate sounds, or mere noises; so the forms of our dreams are much more vivid than the colours, while the sounds we hear are principally, though by no means exclusively, articulate language or music.

The general atmosphere of the dream-world is one of comparative silence and gloom, or at least very subdued light, and the colours are, for the most part, what would be seen in such a light, neutral tints prevailing, and the brighter hues being comparatively rare. There is, however, one notable exception to this in the case of fire, and we think it questionable whether, when this is represented, the optic nerves are not concerned.

We have said that the sense of feeling is sometimes painfully vivid in our dreams, and, we believe, that when this is the case it will be found that its source is in the nerves, or in actual sensation,—actual sensation transmuted, and it may be exaggerated, under circumstances to which we shall advert further on.

One of the most singular features of dreaming is generally considered to be the illusion which leads us to put our own words into the mouths of others. This, however, is less singular than the fact that we apportion what are all equally our own words between ourselves and others. The explanation would seem to be this. The law of interpretation, already described, compels us to cognise every remembered sound that occurs to us as an objective reality. Now if it is merely as sounds that words occur to our memory, there is no reason why we should refer them to ourselves, rather than to others, as their source. On the contrary, since experience shows us that our spoken words are accompanied by certain sensations of muscular motions of the organs of speech, the absence of such muscular motions from the remembered sensation furnishes a sufficient reason why we should refer the words spoken to others rather than ourselves.

But there are two modes of imagining spoken words in waking life,—as mere sounds, or as sounds accompanied by the motions of the vocal organs appropriate to their utterance. Any one who chooses may read or talk to himself in either way. Now, we believe that whether we refer the words we remember in the dream-state to others or to ourselves, depends entirely on whether we remember them in the one or the other of these two ways. If, along with the memory of words, there occurs to us that of the motions of the vocal organs appropriate to them, then we refer them to

* The vividly coloured images and indefinite patches formed when the eyes are tightly closed after exposure to strong light, are not products of the imagination at all, but have their origin in the optic nerves.

ourselves, that is, we dream of speaking them. If, on the other hand, the words occur to our memory as mere sounds, then we refer them to others, that is, we dream of hearing them spoken.

Most dreamers must have remarked the important place which old memories occupy among the materials of their dreams. Scenes, persons and events which are seldom remembered, or have entirely ceased to be remembered, in our waking moments, continually recur to us in the dream-state, sometimes in a more or less distorted form, sometimes with life-like reality, to an extent which perplexes, and sometimes pains us. Experiences similar to that recorded by Charles Lamb in one of his *Essays of Elia*, must be familiar to all to whom the school master was once a terror. Again and again, after a lapse of nearly a quarter of a century, we ourselves go to sleep to find ourselves in the pulpit of a public school, covered with confusion at our inability to find the prayer which we are expected to read for the spiritual comfort of the assembled scholars, or in the class, hopelessly confounded by some passage of Demosthenes, which we can neither read nor construe. We have already referred to the frequent intercourse with the dead, sometimes the almost forgotten dead, which characterises our dreams.

Yet we might expect that the freshest memories would be the most likely to occur to us, or be re-called by association in our dreams.

The fact is, that there are contrary influences at work to determine the region of memory that the consciousness shall occupy in the dream-state. On the one hand the actual habit of the mind tends to keep it among the memories with which it has been most recently occupied in its waking state; on the other hand it is the part of the brain occupied by these recent memories, which, having been most lately at work, is most fatigued, and therefore most amenable to the influence of sleep. The latter cause generally prevails. When sleep is partial, as it always is when we dream, it usually invades those parts of the brain that have been most recently exercised, in preference to those which, having been longer at rest, stand less in need of it; and, relieved of the pressure of the more recent and vivid memories, those of older date, that still retain any vitality, become free to assert themselves. When the brain, as sometimes happens, is much occupied with very recent memories, it will generally be observed that *over-fatigue* is the cause, which, unlike a moderate degree of fatigue, incapacitates the part of the brain concerned for sleep.

The elements of which the mental states of dream life are made up, are, as we have already pointed out, like those of our waking consciousness, of a two-fold character, the products of actual sensation on the one hand, and on the other, those of remembered

sensations and ideas ; but the proportion in which these two elements enter into our waking states of consciousness, is reversed in the dream-state, actual sensations forming but a comparatively small portion of the materials of our dreams.

Although, from the fact of the phenomena of reflex action exhibiting themselves in sleep, we are justified in inferring that in that state neither the organs of sensation are incapable of receiving, nor the afferent nerves of conducting, even ordinary external impressions, yet there can be no doubt that such impressions either do not generally reach the brain itself in sleep, or find no response there. When external expressions do penetrate to the brain, and, as is sometimes the case, succeed in stimulating it to consciousness, either they are abnormally vivid or sudden, or they are confined to some limited portion of the nervous system which is not at the time participating in the general insensibility ; or, it may be, the general insensibility, and consequently the sleep is itself of a very imperfect character.

In waking life, on the other hand, most of our states of consciousness are largely made up of actual sensations, and from none is it possible, even by a voluntary effort, entirely to exclude them. Even when the mind is most abstracted from the sensible world around it, and directed inward upon the operations of the imagination, external impressions still continue to exercise more or less effect upon the consciousness, and even to modify the succession of ideas.

But not only is the proportion in which these two elements, the real and the imaginary, enter into our mental states, reversed in dreams, the former of these elements is commonly so transmuted that the effect produced differs more or less widely from what would have been produced in the waking state. The prick of a pin becomes the stab of a sword ; in the blowing of the morning breeze upon one's curtains, one hears the roaring of a tremendous storm ; the crash of falling cities is nothing but the opening of one's door ; or the ticking of the watch beneath one's pillow is converted into the clang of the blacksmith's hammer.

Familiar instances without number might be cited from works on dreams, to illustrate this transmutation of sensations. One example of the phenomenon we shall refer to, which is familiar to our own experience, and probably to that of many of our readers. We not unfrequently dream that we are at sea ; a storm arises ; the vessel we are in, rolls and pitches in a manner which in waking life could have but one result ; that result is already an accomplished fact ; we feel dreadfully sea-sick. Now, whenever, we have this dream, we wake to find ourselves actually suffering from nausea ; and as it seems very improbable that the imagination of

certain motions should produce this condition, we have little doubt that it is really the nausea which is the cause of the dream, and not the dream the cause of the nausea.

Now, we believe that this so-called transmutation of sensations is purely the consequence of erroneous interpretation. The belief in causation is one of those necessary laws of mind (whether the result of experience or not, is beyond our present purpose) which, as we have already observed, operate in dreams as well as in the waking state. When, in our waking state, we become conscious of a sensation, we have generally the aid of other sensations to assist us in referring it either to its true cause, or to some circumstances which actually exist at the time, and which we believe to be its true cause. When, on the other hand, the sleeper becomes conscious of a sensation, he is compelled, as much as if he were awake, to refer it to some cause; but, being cut off from all other sensations, by which he might form a reasonable judgment of its true cause, he has to seek for its interpretation within. The interpretation he puts on it comes, therefore, to be determined by mere association of ideas. The idea of the motion of a ship, for instance, is associated in our mind with a particular feeling of sickness; and when such a feeling occurs—isolated from all other sensations capable of explaining its origin—it naturally calls up that idea, and, being called up, the idea, by the law of objective interpretation already enunciated, necessarily appears real.

So every isolated fact of sensation which reaches the brain of the sleeper, becomes connected by the law of association with some circumstance, or set of circumstances, which his past experience teaches him to be capable of producing such a sensation.

As may be inferred from the examples we have given, and as most of our readers will know from their own experience, the interpretation is generally more or less exaggerated. What, it may be asked, is the cause of this exaggerative tendency? Why is it that we attribute to the stab of a sword what is really the result of a prick of a pin; to the clang of a hammer what is only the ticking of a watch? Probably, the answer lies in the fact that, while in the waking state, the sensation caused by the prick of a pin or the ticking of a watch, would not only be accompanied by other sensations calculated to correct an exaggerated estimate of the effect produced, but enter into comparison with other facts of actual sensation, in the sleeping state, on the other hand, besides being isolated from everything capable of correcting our estimate of the effect produced, it can enter into comparison with only remembered sensations. Now, the memory of a sensation, however vivid it may be, is in most cases infinitesimally weak in comparison with the original; and it need hardly, we think, create surprise that when the prick of a pin is conveyed, with the superior force of actual sensation to the brain

of the sleeper, there to take its place, not side by side with other sensations, but among the attenuated images of past sensations, of which the dream world consists, it obtains a much higher rank in point of volume, or intensity, than it would among the facts of waking consciousness.

If it is not always the case, that this transmutation of actual sensations by the mind of the sleeper is attended by such exaggeration of either their volume or their intensity, this probably arises from the circumstance that the sensations are not conveyed in their full force to the brain. The residue which reaches the brain is probably always exaggerated.

It no doubt favours this transmutation of sensation in dreams, that in proportion as we lose our waking consciousness, all sensation tends to become more or less diffusive. The degree in which we are capable of identifying the precise seat of a sensation, during our waking moments, varies, as is well known, for different parts of the body; but this power is greatly diminished for all parts of the body even when we are half asleep, and probably disappears almost entirely when we are wholly so. Our condition in this respect then becomes, in fact, very much that of the infant before it has acquired, from experience, the power of differentiating and localising the sensations conveyed from different parts of its body; when it feels, without knowing what part of it feels. Thus all sensation comes to the dreamer more or less as a possession which he is at liberty to appropriate indifferently to any part of him, according to the requirements of his dream.

A great deal is said of the extreme rapidity of brain action in dreams; and some very wonderful stories are told in illustration of it. For instance, there is the story of the prisoner in the Bastille who, in the interval of a few seconds between the opening of the gate to admit a fresh batch of sentries and its closing behind them, slept and dreamed that a vast cavalcade defiled past him in slow procession. Similar stories might be brought forward by the dozen. In a single night events seem to take place which would occupy years in real life; the events of a day to be crowded into a few short minutes.

Yet, we doubt, whether this rapidity is not rather apparent than real. It is popularly believed that thought is much quicker than action; and, so far as this is true, the action of dreams may, doubtless, be more rapid than real action. Yet, paradoxical as it may at first sight seem, we are inclined to doubt whether thought is much, if at all, more rapid than the action it represents, except in so far as the representation is partial and imperfect. We are inclined to think that it must necessarily take as long—and would in practice generally take much longer—to go through an action, or an experience, in memory or imagination, in all its stages and

details, without any leaps or omissions, as to perform, or to suffer it.

Whether it can be justly said that thought is quicker than action, depends, in fact, entirely on the sense in which the words are used. If it be meant that the commencement and end of an action, together with so much of the intermediate details as may be sufficient to give coherence to the representation, or even to produce a delusive sense of completeness, can be compressed in thought into a shorter time than the entire action would occupy in reality, then, doubtless, there is much truth in the assertion.

If, on the other hand, it be intended that the entire action in all its detail can be represented in thought in a shorter time than it would occupy in reality, then we do not hesitate to say that we not only have not, and probably, from the nature of things, cannot have, any proof of the truth of the assertion, but we have every reason for questioning it.

To give an instance: One may think of a journey from Richmond to Charing Cross by recollecting a more or less vivid picture of the Star and Garter, along, it may be, with one or two of the more prominent circumstances of his departure therefrom, and another more or less vivid picture of Charing Cross with some of the circumstances of his arrival there; or these two terminal points of the action may be linked together by a series of more or less typical pictures of the scenery passed on the way, which, again, may be interspersed, here and there, with memories of certain special facts of sensation, or thought, which occurred during the journey.

No doubt all this can be thought through in a very small fraction of the time occupied by the real journey; but it can be so thought through only because, in reality, it represents but a very small fraction of that journey.

To represent the entire journey in all its detail, would be to recollect everything that had been seen, or heard, or felt, or smelt, or tasted, besides everything that had been thought, during the period occupied in its performance, a task which would be practically impossible, and to perform which, if possible, with any approach to completeness, would occupy far more time than the real journey.

We believe, in fact, that thought can never be quicker than the action which it really and fully represents, and that, wherever the action to be represented is of a varied or complex character, it will generally be much slower; though it may be more rapid than the action it is erroneously accepted as representing, in any degree, in proportion to the extent to which the details of the action are omitted in the representation. Further, we think it very doubtful whether any action, however short and

simple, is ever accurately represented in thought. The nearest approach to perfect representation is where, as in the case of recollecting spoken words, the action itself is virtually repeated. Now if any one will read to himself, taking the trouble to be sure that he really represents in thought the sound of every word he reads, he will find that the action takes as long, or very nearly so, as to read the same words aloud would take.

We are inclined to think, then, that the rapidity of thought in dreams is confined to rapidity of transition from one stage of the action to another, and from one scene, or set of circumstances, to another; and that the actual amount of brain-action gone through in a given period of time is not much greater than that gone through in the same time in a state of reverie, when the succession of ideas is protected in the highest degree from interruption from without. No doubt, the estimate formed by the mind of the duration of the action is often much greater than the period actually occupied. But we must be careful to discriminate between the amount of brainwork really performed, and this estimate of the length of time involved in its performance. For a correct judgment of duration, we are almost entirely dependent upon the means at our command of measuring it by physical motions of known or ascertainable periods; and in the case of dreams, as under the influence of Indian hemp and in many other cases, this judgment is liable to be perverted by an erroneous impression of the completeness of trains of imagined action, which are really very incomplete.

There are many important points connected with our subject which we have not space, in this brief essay, to discuss. We have, for instance, omitted all consideration of the condition of the feelings in dreams, a condition which presents several peculiarities well worth examination. In connection with this part of the subject there is the question how it happens that, while we are liable to be influenced in a very intense degree by the sense of fear, of shame, of grief, and, in a less intense degree, by that of joy, the sense of surprise is almost entirely absent. We might have considered the perplexing question of the explanation of that curiosity of dreaming, the dream within a dream. The perverted sense of identity which is frequently characteristic of the state, would alone furnish subject matter for an entire volume of anecdote and enquiry. Then there is the curious and scarcely recognised question of the effect of dreams on our waking life; not merely of the transient effect of recent dreams on our spirits and feelings after waking, but of the extent to which more or less indefinite dream memories become unconsciously commingled with our memories of real past experiences, and are thus liable to affect our judgment.

Some of our readers may perhaps be disappointed that we have said nothing of the numerous cases in which dreams are alleged to have been fulfilled, *i.e.*, in which the dreamer is supposed to have been endowed with a power of prevision, or of supersensual vision ; and possibly the little we should have had to say on the subject might have disappointed believers in the supernatural. These and other points may perhaps form the subject of some future article.

In conclusion, we would disclaim all pretension to dogmatic assertion on a subject on which the evidence is so imperfect, and for his knowledge of which one is necessarily dependent in so great a degree on introspection, and so peculiarly liable to subjective deceptions. The phenomena of our dreams are the expressions in consciousness of physical facts, and any laws which correctly explain them must represent the laws of those facts. Physical science, however, has not yet furnished adequate means of testing the one by the other.

JAMES W. FURRELL.

ART. IX.—AUCTION SALES IN THE BENARES PROVINCE.

1. *Historical and Statistical Memoir of the Ghazee-pore District*, by Wilton Oldham, B.C.S., LL.D., Part 1. 1870.
2. *Tenant Right and Auction Sales in Ghazee-pore and the Benares Province*, by Wilton Oldham, LL.D.

“THE more one comes to consider the subject of land tenures in the Benares Province, and to see what has been done in various cases the more he is struck with the greatest differences of opinion that have prevailed from a very early period. In the settlement of exactly similar cases different principles have been acted upon. The discussions that have from time to time taken place (see what led to Mr. Secretary Prinsep’s letter, and again to the one of Mr. Commissioner Bird another of Mr. Commissioner Boulderson’s of the 18th May 1833; and I dare say more would come to light if I had but a clue to lead me to them) all show in what different lights different men have seen the subject, and on the whole, I think, as a general rule, that in all cases whether of zemindaree or moostajeereel in which a jumna was fixed in 1197, and in which occasion may exist for a re-settlement, that jumma, provided the proprietors agree to pay it and it does not appear to exceed what the mehal can easily bear, ought to be stuck to on the score of expediency. The people are attached to the settlement of 1197, and to the jummas fixed then, and I do not see any great harm that will result by humouring them and letting them have what they want.”

The above was the opinion expressed by Mr. Commissioner Morrieson, thirty years ago, on the important question whether imperial faith is broken by increasing the land revenue from the Benares Province beyond the amount fixed 70 years ago. It will perhaps strike the reader that Mr. Morrieson did not support his opinion with arguments of any great weight or express it with adequate dignity, but I have placed it at the commencement of this paper as an excellent illustration of the fatal ease with which a benevolent writer, professing to discuss a problem of some difficulty, may overlook matters of fact the consideration of which, however distressing they may be to him personally, are essential to a sound judgment on the whole question. “The zemindars like low rates, and there cannot be great harm in humouring them.” The dissection of this argument would be amusing enough, but unprofitable, and in the present case I have quoted it simply as illustrating how the intrusion of a strong personal bias may weaken opinions otherwise worthy and as being therefore an apt introduction to Dr. Oldham’s works.

Dr. Oldham in his recent publication on "Tenant Right and Auction Sales" has, (with the help of selections from Mr. Shakspeare's Selections from the Duncan Records,) developed certain opinions on these subjects which he rather broadly hinted at three years before in his valuable "Memoir on the Ghazeepore district," but in the later work he extends the application of his remarks to "the Benares Division." Whether he does this in the dispassionate tone demanded by the subject I would hesitate to affirm or deny, for, as Mr. Commissioner Morrieson has sagaciously observed, opinions differ, but to allow that Dr. Oldham goes upon firm ground in his statements would be to insult the majesty of fact.

Dr. Oldham, then, urges repeatedly in his Note on Tenant Right these three points—the frequency, the illegality, and the cruelty of sales of hereditary estates for the recovery of arrears of land revenue in the Benares Province between 1797 and 1835, alternating the duller periods in which he quotes from Records of the 'Selections' with paragraphs of very original declamation, and illustrating the whole with the narratives of cases of peculiar atrocity. To take these points in the order of prominence accorded to them, the first on which I would venture to make any observation is the *frequency* of sales of hereditary estates for arrears of land revenue in the Benares Province—premising that I believe Dr. Oldham to be about 95 per cent above the mark in the calculations from which he makes his startling deductions. Unsupported this premiss would be as presumptuous as it is serious, but all the information that I have been able to collect from the Records of Benares (the Records upon which I believe Dr. Oldham mainly relies for his facts) go to support it, and in the aggregate form a prop of very substantial strength.

In the following paragraph Dr. Oldham pithily presents his case:—"The chief part of the Collector's time was occupied in conducting sales or in other business connected with or arising from auction sale. On the 26th October 1811, Mr. W. O. Salmon, Collector of Benares, wrote that he had, 'for many successive days, been employed in the conduct of sales,' and after the establishment of the Ghazeepore Collectorate in 1817 A.D. in a single month, the Collector proposed for sale one more than a thousand estates."

But in both the above there is strong internal evidence that Dr. Oldham has made the error of confusing *proposals* for sale with the actual *sale*, and the sale with the *confirmation* of sale. How serious such an error is, may be gauged from the fact that, as a rule, 66 per cent of the estates proposed for sale never came to the hammer, and of those that did, 98 per cent never changed owners,

the sales being cancelled on the subsequent liquidation of arrears. It must, therefore, be borne in mind that "sale confirmed" and "sold" have meanings as distinct as "sales proposed" and "sold," and that about seven-tenths of the estates *proposed* for sale were never sold, and that more than nine-tenths of those *sold* were never confirmed. (To take notice of the additional fact that sales *confirmed* were sometimes upset on appeal would complicate a simple statement, but the fact is a solid one none the less.)

For instance, during the Fuslee year 1226 (1818-19), there were three thousand proposals for the sale of land, yet the Collector writes to the Board of Commissioners on November 5th, 1819, "I have to communicate to you the entire realization of the arrears for 1226 F., *without having sold a single estate.*" And again, "*the balances of the estates proposed for sale on August 29th, 1816, were Rs. 1,30,000, and yet the whole of this sum being paid up not a single Zemindar's estate was sold on that day.*"

Again, the lands "proposed for sale" in the year 1812-13 aggregated a jumma of over $27\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of Rupees; in 1813-14 nearly 21 lakhs, and in 1814-15 nearly 29 lakhs. But the jumma of the lands *sold* for these years was respectively, $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakh, Rs. 74,000 and Rs. 96,000. What proportion the jumma of the lands *confirmed in sale* bore to these reduced figures I cannot discover, but that it was in every case under Rs. 10,000 may be accepted as certain from the facts that in 1830-31, when the jumma of lands "sold" was $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, that of the lands "confirmed in sale" was only Rs. 3,600; and again in 1831-32, when the former was 4 lakhs, the latter was only Rs. 6,700!

From a statement of Tulubana realized in 1831-32 from defaulting landholders, it appears that in August, September, October, 1831—for three days sales—269 advertisements of sale were issued. In January 1832, there were (for one day's sale), 127 advertisements of sale issued. Yet from the following table it will be seen that in 1831-32 there were only seven sales confirmed so that (supposing the above proportion of advertisements to have been maintained throughout the year) not one estate of 150 proposed for sale ever changed owners. Again, in 1828-29, the jumma of the estates *sold* aggregated Rs. 1,69,000, but not a single beegah of land was *confirmed* in sale.

Year.	Number of Estates sold.	Jumma of ditto.	Number of Estates confirmed in sale.	Jumma of ditto.
1826-27	144	Rs. 1,14,000	3	Rs. 2,800
'27-28	247	„ 2,14,000	11	„ 9,900
'28-29	203	„ 1,69,000	0	„ 0
'29-30	172	„ 17,000	7	„ 1,241
'30-31	264	„ 2,30,000	7	„ 3,600
'31-32	462	„ 3,89,900	10	„ 6,765

By themselves, these facts might be considered sufficient to prove that if Dr. Oldham in his strictures regarding “the indiscriminate and universal employment of auction sales” in the Benares Province intends the word “sale” to mean the veritable mutation of ownership by purchase he is very gravely in error. But Napoleon’s theory of war holds good on the field of contested argument. To assail Dr. Oldham’s statement as to the *frequency* of land sales is to attack him in his strongest point, and the tactics of Austerlitz may therefore be followed even at the risk of becoming tedious.

Among the Benares Records there is filed a list of “Estates in the district of Benares sold to liquidate arrears of revenue from the Permanent Settlement of 1793 A.D. to the year 1225 F.”—but it does not include (probably because Ghazeepore being then, in 1819, a separate Collectorship, the returns for that district were submitted separately by the Collector of Ghazeepore) the sales in the Ghazeepore district to which Dr. Oldham mainly refers. But if we may judge from the alienations of landed property in the Benares-cum-Mirzapore district (given in the above list), Ghazeepore must have been exceptionally unfortunate in its revenue officers since its separation from Benares, if Dr. Oldham’s calculations are correct, for in the Benares-cum-Mirzapore district there were between 1793 and 1818—twenty-six years—exactly 100 estates sold to liquidate arrears of revenue. This is rather less than four sales per annum.

Again, a loose sheet of manuscript without date contains a “statement of alienations of estates for balances of revenue” in the Benares district from 1251 F. to 1261 F. (1843-44—1853-54) in which—for ten years—the total of sales is 27 or less than three per annum—or taking these 36 years together we have 127 sales, or only three and a half a year.

These with the table given above are the only specific statements of *lands confirmed in sale* I have been able to find in the

Benares Records, but as the period they cover—36 years—is very considerable, I do not hesitate to conclude upon their evidence that three and half per annum was the average number of public land sales for arrears of revenue per district between 1793 and 1853.

The following statement of lands “ordered to be put up for sale” records the number of estates knocked down to the highest bidders, but does not record the number of sales subsequently cancelled, *which was, as a rule, about 95 per cent.*

Number of Lots ordered for sale.	Balance due from defaulting proprietors.		Jumma.		Gross amount of the sale.	Dates.	
	Of lands ordered for sale but not sold.	Of lands actually sold.	Of lands ordered for sale but not sold.	Of lands actually sold.			
						May	April
1680	5,40,518	58,184	1,416,057	84,149	133,774	1811	1812
1700	5,53,889	29,889	1,311,111	51,911	105,345	1812	1813
1150	4,35,530	17,359	1,360,735	34,111	47,172	1813	1814
Rs.	15,29,937	1,05,432	4,087,904	1,70,171	2,86,291		

During the above three years the Collectorate of ‘Benares’ included the present Ghazeepore, Mirzapore, and Jounpore districts.

The following statement of lands “put up for sale for arrears of revenue in the Collectorship of Benares” during the Fuslee years 1226, 1227 and 1228, is even more striking as it shows that *for every 264 estates advertised to be sold only one was ever sold:—*

Years.	The aggregate number of mehals actually sold.			The aggregate number and jumma of mehals advertised for sale, but which were not sold in consequence of the balance having been paid.	
	Number of mehals actually sold.	Sudder jumma.	Amount purchase.	Number of mehals.	Sudder jumma.
For 1226 Fs.	4	2,932	8,746	1,035	514,244
1227 ”	12	11,178	55,746	1,794	1,165,371
1228 ”	1	764	3,700	1,676	1,235,467

The following (the only) fragment preserved of a volume for 1239 F., shows that in that year 1,227 mehals were proposed for sale, of which 775 were redeemed before and 452 *after* the actual sale

Mehals sold the sales of which have not yet been confirmed.			Mehals sold the sales of which have been cancelled.			Mehals advertized, but not sold from payment of arrears.	
Number of mehals sold either in whole or in part.	Sudder jumma.	Amount Purchase.	Number of mehals sold either in whole or in part.	Sudder jumma.	Amount purchase.	Number of mehals sold either in whole or in part.	Sudder jumma.
...	452	383,139-12-15	8,61,425	776	660,784-10-123

As I have elsewhere stated that ten sales were confirmed in 1239 F, we find that in 1239 F. only 33 per cent. of the estates advertised for sale were actually sold, and that of the estates sold, only 2 per cent. were confirmed in sale.

The following statement of lands annually "put up to sale by the Collector of Benares" between 1821 and 1831 is compiled from the "Annual Statements" entered in the volumes of *jumma-wasil-baukee* for those years :—

The aggregate number of mehals actually sold.					The aggregate number and jumma of mehals advertised for sale, but which were not sold in consequence of the balances having been paid.		Mehals sold, of which the sales were cancelled subsequently.	
Year.	Number of Lots actually sold : (or portions).	Sudder jumma. Rs.	Amount purchase-money. Rs.	Arrears for which sold.	Number of mehals.	Sudder jumma. Rs.	Number of mehals.	Sudder jumma. Rs.
1229	3	1,658	10,050	....	1,193	883,637		
1230	9	5,339	28,501	....	1,684	1,280,582		
1231	1	1,322	3,000	....	1,617	1,214,411		
1232	7	5,747	35,785	....	1,140	947,568		
1233	5	4,782	30,775	....	1,369	116,877		
1234	5	5,220	42,695	3,191	1,437	1,040,761	141	111,906
1235	9	9,910	17,330	5,791	1,545	1,070,663	236	204,765
1236	0	...	...	...	1,190	1,037,664	203	169,700
1237	3	1,241	10,625	1,207	1,836	1,326,806	165	15,852
1238	7	3,676	26,305	2,401	1,031	943,782	193	64,454

That is to say, nearly *sixteen hundred* estates, aggregating an annual jumma of over 30 lakhs of Rupees, were advertised for sale *yearly*. Of these, about 1,400 were redeemed each year before the day of sale, and about 195 after the sale had been made; leaving about four estates per annum to be *confirmed in sale*. Nor were even these four always "ancestral" property.

To sum up, I would quote a surmise of the Court of Directors when puzzled by some of these extraordinary figures. "*The advertisement of lands for sale is, it appears, a species of coercion which very generally produces the payment of arrears without the necessity of proceeding to the ultimate remedy.*"

Mr. Jonathan Duncan's provision for the sale of lands in those cases "in which it may be deemed advisable" proved, therefore, exactly what he had hoped, "*useful to awe the general body of the renters into a regular discharge of the revenue,*" but even more admirable than the sagacity which thus left with the revenue authorities a last resource in desperate cases was the extraordinary indulgence shown to hereditary zemindars by Mr. Duncan's successors. The figures I have given above prove the infrequency of sales of land for arrears of revenue, but it is unfortunately impossible to reflect in tabular statements the constant, the uncalled for, sympathy extended to many thousands of undeserving men or by a collection of dry facts to convey to the reader an idea of the lofty, statesman-like language in which the Government of the past enjoined on its revenue officers "*tenderness to the landholder.*"

Next, in Dr. Oldham's warrant comes the charge of constant *illegality* and *cruelty* in selling hereditary estates for arrears of land revenue in the Benares Province. I cannot understand how this charge is to be maintained.

In 1789, Mr. Jonathan Duncan, when issuing his leases to landholders, entered in each counterpart of lease that "*whatever balance may be incurred in the amount of the proprietor's engagements shall be recovered by the sequestration and sale of the proprietor's property, including the land of his zemindaree or share whenever Government shall order the same to be put up to auction sale,*" so that as a matter of fact, every individual entering into an agreement to pay revenue to Government, entered into it with his eyes wide open to the consequences of default. He was explicitly warned that if he failed to pay his revenue, his lands would be sold, and after this single fact is recorded, I consider that Dr. Oldham's charge of illegality falls clumsily to the ground. It does not matter one iota what Mr. Duncan's private opinion was about the law, and even if he had ever 'protested,' as Dr. Oldham states he did, against the clause inserted in the leases, his assertion of opinion cannot, and does not, influence the question of *legality*. Dr. Oldham, however, thinks differently and gives, with

marks of quotations, the following paragraph as Mr. Duncan's 'intention' under the impression, apparently, that what Mr. Duncan intended was something else than what he said:—"The collection of revenue by the system of *tulubana* is liable to abuse, but admitting of further regulation and preferable to the expedient resorted to in Bengal and Behar of selling the lands of defaulters for recovery of balances which would cause open resistance and rebellion, notwithstanding the clause, to that effect, in the *cabooleuts* of the *putteedars*, which is considered useful to awe the general body of the renters into a regular discharge of their revenue *than as calculated to be carried into general practice.*" The original, however, reads somewhat differently for the opinion condensed by Dr. Oldham into emphasis, and truffled with italics, was expressed by Mr. Duncan with all that caution of verbiage characteristic of him. What he actually wrote was this:—

"When the new system is introduced into Benares, it will become a subject of consideration how far the rules laid down for making the collections within the provinces may be found suitable to be either immediately or gradually introduced, or be allowed to supersede the present local practice and rules for realizing the revenue, which, although attended by some inconveniences such as might, for example, arise out of the degree of discretion thence assumable by the Amils, (as explained in the Report of November 1790, on the general settlement), of levying *tulubana* (for the amount of which they were afterwards accountable to Government) on parties in arrear, as a spur towards the regular discharge of the revenue, yet it is to be apprehended, that whatever occasional abuse this mode of process may be liable to, it can hardly be given up, though it may probably admit of further regulation; and it may even, perhaps, be found preferable, in this district, to the introduction of the expedient that has been so long resorted to in Government of Bengal and Behar of levying the balances by the public sale of the lands of the defaulters, an extremity which, not only from the numerous *putteedars* or inferior partners who hold immediately under, though their names may not be all specified in, each Government *pottah*, but from its never appearing to have been practised as a general rule in this part of the country, may, it is to be feared, occasion considerable confusion, and, even in some cases, open resistance and rebellion by any vigorous or general execution of that part of the revenue regulations in this part of the Hon'ble Company's possessions, notwithstanding the clause to that effect in the *cabooleuts* of the present *Pottahdars*, which is rather to be considered as useful, in as far as it may tend to awe the general body of these renters into a regular discharge of their revenue than as calculated to be carried into general practice."

This is surely a very guarded expression of opinion.

I have already shown that at the very outset the sale of his lands was the penalty threatened by Mr. Duncan against the defaulting zemindar, and from the above quotation it is vident how clearly Mr. Duncan foresaw that the necessity would occasionally arise for the enforcement of that penalty. In compressing Mr. Duncan's words, Dr. Oldham has had the misfortune to lend them an exoteric force and, no doubt by often reading over his own paraphrase of them, has been misled into such an expression as this (on page 57 of the Note)—“The vehemence of Mr. Duncan's protest against auction sales.” But Mr. Duncan, never ‘protested,’ much less did he ever ‘vehemently’ protest against them. On the contrary, he explicitly threatened every zemindar that he would sell his lands if he did not pay his revenue regularly, and recorded his private opinion that this painful extremity would probably have but seldom to be enforced.

How exactly his hopeful anticipations were fulfilled the figures given in the first part of this paper prove. The *threat* of sale was held out to about 1,600 zemindars every year, and enforced against only three, four, or five of them. I would submit, therefore, that the sale of lands for arrears of revenue having been originated and countenanced by “the Legislator of the Province,” the charge of cruelty against Mr. Duncan's successors cannot be maintained either as to the conception or the scope of the procedure. If any one at all was ‘cruel’ it was surely Mr. Duncan himself, while as regards “illegality” it is difficult to understand how the very moderate enforcement of Mr. Duncan's sweeping threat by his successors can be called ‘illegal.’

Dr. Oldham, however, appears to understand how this may be done and, while keeping Mr. Duncan before the reader as the great source of all good, condemns both the conception and scope of the process of auction sale and extends his condemnation from the general character of the provision to the details of its occasional enforcement by the revenue authorities. He writes, “The Revenue Records afford ample proof that of all the causes of default wilful embezzlement was the most rare, and that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the auction sales were contrary not only to the letter of the law but to the spirit of the law, not only illegal, but cruel and unjust.”

The expression ‘wilful embezzlement,’ as constantly used by Dr. Oldham, is a very misleading one, inasmuch as the real and the whole meaning of the words is simply the obstinate withholding of Government revenue, wilful default, and as it was only in those cases where the zemindars had wearied out indulgence that the sale of their lands was confirmed, I would not hesitate to say that ‘wilful embezzlement’ (*proper*, and not in Dr. Oldham's sense of the

phrase) was in every case of the confirmation of the sale of an estate the direct cause of the zemindar's misfortune. And how well merited this punishment was, Dr. Oldham is, no doubt, well aware.

Another expression in this sentence is also open to criticism—"ninety-nine cases out of a hundred"—inasmuch as it is inapplicable, for there was, as far as the Benares Records show, no one year in which the sales of land, the veritable mutation of ownership in land by public sale for arrears of revenue could not be counted on the fingers. Dr. Oldham, I take it, would correct me if I, having only ten fingers and one right hand thumb among them, were to say, "in ten cases out of a hundred my fingers are right hand thumbs." The *suggestio falsi* here is evident as inducing to a belief in the public that I could count my fingers by hundreds and my thumbs by scores.

The phantasm of illegality, therefore, before it can be seriously discussed, must be reduced to its real proportions which, as it has already been shown are, at their worst, very insignificant indeed. A pea has fallen out of the rick on to the hen's head—not a cloud out of the sky as she had thought. Falstaff is beset by only one small boy.

But is there even this reduced modicum of truth in the charges of illegality and cruelty brought by Dr. Oldham against the revenue authorities of the Benares Province? The retort if held over a more steady, I cannot say a more intense, flame than Dr. Oldham's, shows no precipitate whatever. The measure originated with so much sagacity by Mr. Duncan, and gauged by him with such accuracy, was under his successors, worked with fidelity to their duty, equity to the people, and honour to themselves and Government. The very words used by Dr. Oldham, "The spirit of the law" occur repeatedly in the letters of the Board when reproving the Collector for adhering to "the letter of the law." Has Dr. Oldham forgotten the great case of Jumalpoore, Secunderpoore? How, after repeated default that estate was sold, the sale cancelled, again sold and the sale confirmed? How the ex-zemindars petitioned the Board on the plea of irregularity, and how the Board, while fully admitting "the legality of the sale," reported to Government in terms of savage censure that the Collector had acted "in contravention to the general spirit of the rules and orders?" Has Dr. Oldham forgotten how, for this one slip, Sir Frederic Hamilton who, had *then* been Collector for ten years, was threatened with dismissal, and fined Rs. 3,465, or how the estate was taken from the purchaser and restored to the zemindars who, by the insolence of their continued default, had forfeited all claims to sympathy and "could not (I quote the Board of Revenue) have found redress in a Court of Judicature"?

All this was, no doubt, illegal, but the illegality was on the side of mercy, and in favour of the hereditary zemindars.

This was in 1826, and the Government of that year is, therefore, hardly obnoxious to Dr. Oldham's charge of cruelty. Ten years before this the spirit of the law was so far strained in favour of hereditary landowners as to make a zemindaree claim (when other men were offering double the terms as farmers) valid on the strength of oral testimony alone. Was this a symptom of any implacable hatred of the ancestral zemindar?

"The Board direct me to observe to you that your enquiries into the pretensions of zemindaree claimants should not be restricted to documentary evidence: when that may be wanting an opportunity should be afforded claimants of establishing their rights by testimony Government, you must be aware, do not wish to avail themselves of mere formal objections against the admission of proprietary claims, and the Board, therefore, desire you will allow claimants to adduce oral evidence in support of their pretensions in future." And, again, "It is the wish of His Lordship in Council that as far as the claims of individuals to the proprietary right in lapsed farms, are opposed merely to the interest which Government may have in the re-assessment of the mehal, such claims should be admitted where there is a fair presumption of their being well founded though the proof may fall short of what is necessary to carry conviction. It is especially proper that a leaning in favour of such claims should prevail where the party may have any other hereditary connection with the estate."

All this was pitifully illegal, but the illegality was in favour of the hereditary zemindar.

To go back for another ten years, to 1810—had that Government any shameful contempt for the law that could write on so trivial a point as the necessity for the public advertisement of the *continuation* of a sale begun the day before, "*it is of the greatest importance that we should not mistake the law in the matter of land sales.*" Is it likely that this Government, so careful of the gnats, would have overlooked the camels, that, punctilious as to the details of the law where a slipshod procedure might injure the defaulter, it could have mistaken, as Dr. Oldham maintains it did, the scope and first principles of the law?

And that in 1810 the sale of land for arrears of revenue as then carried on was considered quite legal is certain from the following:—"Some delay in the punctual collection of the rents under the new (tehsildaree) system may be expected: for the zemindars, in many instances, may not pay up their revenues until coercion shall be adopted against them, but the Board observe that if prompt measures be adopted by you for

bringing to sale the lands of defaulters at the expiration of each year, the delay will be of no great moment. In cases in which the zemindars may wilfully withhold payment of their rents within the year, the Board will, on a report of the circumstances to them, recommend the sale of the defaulter's lands within the year, provided that measure should be thought necessary in preference to attaching the lands." Here we have, in a document sixty years old, the very words of Dr. Oldham in the mouths of those whom he accuses of ignorance of the law and wholesale illegality. Here are the very phrases, 'wilful embezzlement' and 'special report' (see *infra*) which Dr. Oldham strains so constantly, used in their virgin sense.

To go back for another ten years—to 1800,— we find the procedure pointed out by Dr. Oldham (on p. 19 of his Note) as that which ought to have been, but was not, followed by the revenue authorities, laid down almost word for word as he enunciates it:—

"In the present instance the revenue is stated to have been payable to a tehsildar, and the rules for collecting such revenue, exclusive of Section 2, Regulation 6, 1795, for stationing watchmen on the crops until security be given, are contained in Sections 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22, of the above Regulation, with some of the succeeding Sections which it is unnecessary to specify. Under the above rules if the Malgoozar or his surety shall not discharge the revenue due, on the issue of the tehsildar's *dustucks* in conformity to Sections 3 and 10, they are to be sent as directed in Section 11, to the Collector who, at the expiration of ten days, if the arrear be not then paid, is authorized to cause their confinement in the Jail of the Dewanny Adaulut, and to direct the tehsildar, under Section 14, to sequester the defaulter's share of the assessment on the crops to the end of the year or until such time as he shall have paid the balances due from him. *At the expiration of the year, if any arrear remain due, it is recoverable by a sale of property or otherwise under the several Clauses of Sections 17 and 18.*" Dr. Oldham does not quote the last sentence.

To go back yet another ten years is to find ourselves where we started and to find Mr. Jonathan Duncan, "the Legislator of the Province" threatening every zemindar who accepted a pottah with the sale of his lands. So that, taken decade by decade, the period inveighed against by Dr. Oldham, as signalised throughout by cruel injustice towards the hereditary zemindar, shows rather a very consistent policy in which the quality of mercy was certainly not strained. To fill in the skeleton would be the work of a mere copyist, for the Benares Records contain a mass of evidence (if the above is evidence) to prove that no year passed between the dates of the Collectorate of Benares and the Govern-

ment of Agra, in which the anxiety of the revenue authorities in behalf of the hereditary zemindar was not signally and conspicuously recorded.

Among Dr. Oldham's illustrative atrocities are "the Murdeh case" and "the case of Jobraj Roy."

Of the former, he says:—"On the 25th April, 1817, the village of Murdeh Khas, Pergunnah Puchotur, of which the Government annual revenue is Rs. 1,354 per annum, was sold for the sum of Rs. 6. The zemindars tendered the balance due from them two days before the sale to the Peshkar of the Ghazeepore tehseel. He refused to take it, and they started for Benares and arrived there one day after the sale was completed. This sale appears never to have been cancelled and the auction purchasers are still in possession of the village."

From this it would appear that Dr. Oldham had discovered an iniquity which, sixty years ago, was regarded quite as a matter of course, and that Murdeh Khas was actually sold then and there for six rupees. But where Dr. Oldham writes: "This sale appears never to have been cancelled," there should have been written. "*This sale, however, was never confirmed.*"

It appears from the Benares Records that in April 1817, the Collector of Benares reported the extraordinary sale of Murdeh Khas to the Commissioner, and a few days after wrote again informing the Commissioner that soon after the sale had been effected he had received an offer to purchase the estate if re-exposed at a sum equal to the balance for which it was originally exposed. The Commissioner on May 8th, replied to both these letters: "If any error or any fraud has occurred in regard to the sale of Murdeh Khas, the Commissioner would withhold confirmation of it. But the low price alone would not be a sufficient ground for reversing the sale. Mr. Barlow (the Collector of Ghazeepore) has been directed to report on the case. The offer alluded to in your second letter leads to an inference that some mistake has occurred. It cannot, of course, be accepted, the only mode of selling lands for arrears being that of public auction." To this, on May 17th, the Collector replied that "neither fraud nor error had been discovered in the sale of Murdeh Khas." Meanwhile the Commissioner had written (on May 8th) to the Collector of Ghazeepore ordering him to report on the case, but it was not until October 16th that Mr. Barlow replied. He then narrated the circumstances of the proprietors' offer of the balances to the *peshkar* at Ghazeepore two days before the sale was to take place at Benares, his declining to receive it in consequence of the shortness of the interval and their appearance at the Benares cutcherry the day after the sale. Upon receipt of this the Commissioner addressed the Collector of Benares, and

"under the circumstances stated by Mr. Barlow" *declined to confirm the sale.* He writes: "I cannot confirm the sale of Murdeh Khas, and the Collector of Ghazeepore has been instructed to call upon the defaulting proprietors for the balances which may be due from the estate."

The auction purchasers, therefore, who are stated by Dr. Oldham, to be now in possession of the village must have purchased Murdeh Khas at some subsequent sale and no doubt at some price more adequate to its value.

Of the 'case of Jobraj Roy,' Dr. Oldham, after giving prominence to censure passed on the Collector by the Board before, and withdrawn after, they were in possession of the whole facts of the case, continues:—

"The following is an extract from Mr. Salmon's (the Collector aforesaid) reply:—

'From my report it may certainly be assumed that Jobraj Roy had paid the public assessment on his estate for a period of twenty years with punctuality, is a deduction drawn in the latitude of mercy which characterizes the Board rather than from the absolute letter of the record. In like manner there is reason to suppose that the estate was an old possession of his family from old times, but I fear these excellent qualities and these ancient rights will not, in general cases, exempt from perpetual responsibility under the law or supersede penalties prescribed for default.'

The original, however, reads very differently:—"From my report it certainly may be assumed that Jobraj Roy had paid the public assessment on his estate for a period of twenty years 'with punctuality,' is a deduction drawn in the latitude of mercy which characterises the Board rather than from the absolute letters of the record. In like manner there is reason to suppose that the estate was an old possession of his family from old times, but I fear these excellent qualities and their ancient rights will not in general cases exempt from perpetual responsibility under the law or supersede penalties prescribed for default. *The regulations undisguisedly define that the malgoozars of Government contract by their engagements to discharge the revenues at the stipulated periods without delay or evasion or in the event of failing in the punctual discharge of the public revenues that a sale of their lands will positively and inevitably take place.*"

Dr. Oldham omits the very important sentence I have italicised and takes up the extract again after the word 'place' concluding by putting the following admission into Mr. Salmon's mouth:—"It may certainly be alleged that this is frequently a hardship upon the malgoozars of Government whose ruin and distress may ensue from the faults or frauds of co-partners

rather than from their own," with a full stop after the word "own" as if nothing had followed it. In the original, however, there is no punctuation at "own" and the sentence runs on thus "but in the language of the old commentators '----- est sed ita scripta est lex' and the Board themselves have recognised such responsibility when they observed in the case of holders of decrees, who had from the time of obtaining their decrees to the time of sale consented to joint tenantry that 'if they will not take timely measures for availing themselves of the right awarded to them, and for securing that right from the consequences of fraud in their co-partners they have only themselves to blame and must abide by the risk.'" This surely makes a very serious change inasmuch as that which in Dr. Oldham's version appears as an apologetic admission of fault was really the first half of a very strong argument in the Collector's self-defence. The mischief of these singular inadvertences is much aggravated by Dr. Oldham's subsequent observations on his own inadequate version of Mr. Salmon's reply. These observations are as follows:—

"In this case, from the admission of the Collector, the default did not arise from the wilful embezzlement of the funds of the estate. Jobraj Roy was not himself in default, and under the provisions of Section XVII., Regulation VI, 1795, was entitled not only to exemption from sale, but to have the shares of the defaulting *putteedars* made over to him. Nevertheless, with a full knowledge of the facts of the case, and with a most strongly expressed opinion of its hardship, the Furruckabad Commissioners, in their letter of the 3rd September 1811, confirmed this most illegal and iniquitous sale:—" Let us take Dr. Oldham's observations one by one.—

"*The Admission of the Collector.*"—There is no admission in the original for what Dr. Oldham has published as an admission, was only the first-half of a denial.

"*The default did not arise from the wilful embezzlement of the funds of the estate.*" Jobraj Roy himself swore that it did. It is recorded in his evidence that he stated on oath that Rampersaud, his co-partner, "had made away with all the collections in order to ruin him and cause the estate to be sold."

"*Jobraj Roy was not himself in default.*" Jobraj Roy was in default. In the Collector's records on the case he is called 'Jobraj Roy the other defaulter,' and Jobraj Roy in his petition, consented to pay "a part of the balance agreeably to his share." The estate was an *ekjye*, a joint undivided property, in which Government was no more able to define *separate* liabilities without the consent of the co-parcenars than in the spine of the Siamese twins.

"Under the provisions of Section XVII of Regulation VI. 1795, Jobraj Roy was entitled not only to exemption from sale,

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but to have the shares of the defaulting putteedars made over to him." Let Mr. Salmon defend himself:—"The Regulations do not reserve to Government the power of ordering divisions of estates when such partition may be expedient for the security of the public revenues. The option of division is exclusively limited to individuals," and again "if the pleas of the putteedars in joint undivided estates were to have been admitted and acted upon, as often as made, and if these pleas were to have been sufficient to have saved the estate from sale for public balances, why has Regulation IX. of 1811, and particularly Sections IX and XIII of that Regulation, been enacted."

Mr. Salmon continued: "Even that Regulation itself does not provide for the postponement of sales of estates on the plea of putteedars who shall not previously have adopted measures for obtaining a separation of their shares, nor does it provide for compelling the putteedars to such divisions if the security of the public revenue should call for it. But does it appear that Jobraj Roy ever did get up these pleas to the proper officers and at the proper time? Did he ever say that he individually was not in balance for his puttee? Did he ever say that his partners were the sole defaulters, and that he would endeavour to make good the public dues, that he was ready to furnish security himself for the same, and that he would then pursue the measures of the law to obtain re-payment from them? Did he report that he was willing to pay to the 'utmost of his ability'? Indeed, neither my recollection nor my records satisfy me as to this. I suppose he must have alleged this much to the Board, and the Board have placed reliance in his veracity." After going on in the same strain for some time to show that Jobraj Roy had been gulling the Commisioners, the Collector concludes:—"Lastly, did Jobraj Roy otherwise than by his unsupported assertion to the Board, on the said day of sale, manifest his willingness to pay? It is recorded in my official proceedings that he was asked whether he had the money in readiness, to which he replied that his partners "were coming from the mofussil with the money." Was that a sufficient answer to postpone the sale of the estate for a balance which exceeded half of the year's jumma? After the shifts of Jobraj Roy and of his partners could any dependence be placed on this assertion? If I had postponed the sale I should have been condemned under the very orders of the Board which direct that 'no postponement of a sale ought to take place merely as a concession of time at the solicitation of the party without satisfactory assurance of payment at the future day except in cases where the balance itself may be disputed,' and, as an example, would have been most dangerous for every defaulter at the sale would have urged that excuse and formed a precedent for its unqualified

admission. But even on that day Jobraj Roy escaped, for the sanction of Government had not been received and the sale was postponed till the 11th of October, which was certainly full time for the slow-paced partners to have arrived as promised by Jobraj Roy, and almost time enough for Jobraj Roy himself to have gone and returned from the Pergunnah. On the 16th of October the estate was again exposed, and Jobraj Roy returned the same answer. If aught remained to be done but to proceed to the sale, I do implicitly bow and acknowledge to my own disgrace that I know not the nature and duties of any appointment as a revenue officer of Government." The remainder of this letter has unfortunately been torn out of the original volume, but the fragment quoted above proves that the Collector could plead in his defence the strongest of all pleas—the law both in its letter and its spirit, while the final confirmation of the sale by the Commissioners proves that they admitted the force of that defence. "With regard to mouza Hindoopoor Kinjara, the Board observe that as Jobraj Roy admits his joint occupancy of the estate and his joint responsibility for the revenue, although his actual right extends to no more than a portion of half of the estate, the Board are, therefore, of opinion that all his interest has been legally sold, as well as that of Rampershad, and that he cannot be allowed to re-enter on the property without the acquiescence of the purchaser."

Whether the purchaser acquiesced or not is not stated, but it is more probable that he did, for the Jobraj Roy stamp of man was, as he is now, a dangerous enemy to an auction purchaser and a very noxious element of village society. He was a typical specimen of the refractory and insolent zemindars who, when their estates were advertised for sale, used to crowd into cutcherry on sale day, and though they had the amount of their arrears tied up in their kummerbunds contented themselves with screaming and yelling while their lots were being bid for, tossing their turbans about in the air and scrambling under the Collector's table to catch hold of his feet, and who as soon as their lot was knocked down used insolently to produce their money and, rupee by rupee, count it down on the table, and after seeing the Collector's pen drawn through the purchaser's name left the Cutchery grinning. Here is another picture of the Jobraj Roy of the period, drawn by the same Collector in the same year. "In the like manner the regulations do not reserve to Government the power of ordering divisions of estates when such measure may be expedient for the security of the public Revenues. The option of division is exclusively confined to individuals. The Board are aware, I suppose, of my remarks concerning the Revenue balances of this province that the great part of them are owing to the disputes and jealousies and mutual suspicions of the

Putteedars and Lumberdars, persons answerable directly to Government. Most of the lands, on this account, of purgunnah Secunderpore have, for the last three years, been regularly annually exposed to sale for balances, and very often, till the very day of sale not one cowrie of any one kist has been paid, and though the dustuck are regularly issued and repeated for every kist, in so much that the amount of tulbannah frequently comes to hundreds of rupees, not one has obeyed either by payment of money or surrender of person. When the estate is proclaimed at the time of the sale, the Lumberdars probably appear attended by a host of Putteedars and are asked why they have not paid their revenues regularly.—They reply that their Putteedars have not paid them. They are asked whether they have now brought the money to save their estate from sale.—They reply that they and their Putteedars have brought it. Each man then takes out his separate bag and they begin to lay down, rupee by rupee, according to his alleged quota contending and bickering all the time, and if any one person should be deficient they will all take back their money and refuse to pay any part, and it is not, perhaps, till the estate has been bid for and is at the point of being finally knocked down that they can agree among themselves to rescue it. They return to the Mofussil and continue quarrelling as before, and the same scene recurs annually or perhaps twice in the year. In such cases surely it would be better that Government should exercise an authority and compel the division of estates, rendering all the Putteedars independent of each other, and severally answerable for the Government revenues. In such cases the expenses of the division should be borne by all in the proportion of their shares, and in the event of its being established that any one Putteedar obstructed the division his shares should be confiscated to Government.” In the particular case of Jobraj Roy, his estate fell in arrears and in defence he swore that his partner was trying to ruin him. While the estate was being bid for he was standing outside the cutcherry but would not come in to say a word to suspend the sale, but after it had been knocked down, in came Jobraj Roy. It was explained to him that he ought to have come into cutcherry when he knew he was being called for and that the sale “having been made, could not, in good faith, be revoked without the consent of the purchaser, and that if he had anything to urge in the case, with respect to his own share he must present a petition.” Jobraj Roy, accordingly presented a tissue of falsehoods, and, on this, the Board censured the Collector. Mr. Salmon, in reply stated the facts and the Board then upheld him. (The case did not end here, for the heirs of Jobraj Roy brought it again *sub judice*, but for the

present purpose there is no necessity for referring to those proceedings.)

Neither in "the Mundeh case" nor in "the case of Jobraj Roy" can Dr. Oldham be said to have been happy in his choice.

Another special point selected by Dr. Oldham for emphatic writing is the deprivation of the sold up Zemindar's privilege of holding his seer lands at a lighter rate than his neighbours and "the doctrine, that a Zemindar, when he loses his position as a village lessee, reverts to his position as a privileged cultivator" is blazoned in capitals on Dr. Oldham's pages. And Dr. Oldham's process for establishing this position is even more original than those already noticed, for, in support of the doctrine that the Zemindar in the Benares Province is entitled to enjoy his seer land at an assessment lower than the prevailing ryotee rates, Dr. Oldham quotes a large quantity of a Regulation* drafted by Mr. Harington in 1827, and written especially in defence of the rights of *ryots*, and these "the peasantry of Bengal" a regulation which the Revenue Officers of the day and his Excellency the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council agreed in condemning! Dr. Oldham gravely introduces this draft thus—"a Regulation was drafted by Mr. Harington under the orders of Government, in 1827, at a time when Mr. Holt Mackenzie, Mr. H. T. Prinsep and other Officers of equally profound knowledge of the revenue system were the advisers of the Governor-General. This regulation * * * was not passed." The explanation of so extraordinary a fact as that Mr. Harington's revelation should not have become law when such able men were round the Council table, was this that those officers who, as Dr. Oldham says, being "distinguished for their ability and their profound knowledge of the revenue system" were "the advisers of the Governor-General" condemned the measure as being certainly inexpedient and doubtfully just! The Resolution on Mr. Harington's Regulation (which by the way does not appear to have been drafted "under the orders of Government") opens with the following: "The Vice-President in Council having carefully considered the Minute and Draft of Regulation above mentioned, finds difficulty in resolving on the adoption of the measures recommended, entertaining doubts as to the necessity of some, and as to the expediency and justice of others of the enactments contemplated."

And this abortive regulation drafted for quite another object than that to what it is applied by Dr. Oldham, is all that is cited in Dr. Oldham's Note to support the privileged-cultivator 'doctrine'—except a remark from one of Mr. Duncan's letters to his Assistant regarding some *excluded* Zemindars of Kurrendah. Mr.

* "*Rights of Ryots in Bengal*, by the Hon'ble J. H. Harington, Esq. : 1827."

Duncan said "meanwhile (until some allowance could be decided upon for them) they will, as usual, be allowed their own seer neej-jote or other lands they themselves cultivate, which I believe, always let at more moderate rates than the other lands" and to this, Dr. Oldham adds "in Section XVII. of Regulation VI. of 1795, the fact that even the most inferior family putteedar holds his neej-jote on favourable terms is recognised." But is it not stated in the first clause of that section that the Zemindar's privilege is dependent on the pleasure of the new malgoozar? This is not my own reading of the section but that of the Commissioner and the Collector of Benares, in 1837.

The new Rent Act for the North-West Provinces recognises the "ex-proprietory tenant," and in doing so gracefully sacrifices four annas in the rupee to local sentiment, and the usages of Benares. But in 1837 the Commissioner "of the 5th Division" recorded his opinion that defaulting Zemindars "if they are allowed to continue in possession of their seer lands, must pay to the farmer at the established ryotee rate of the village, for similar land." The following is the interesting correspondence :—

TO COMMISSIONER,
5th Division.

SIR,

As required I have the honour to report on the petition of Lantoo Tewaree and Hunooman Tewaree * * * They put forward three claims. —

1st.—That they are entitled to hold their seer lands on the jumma at which they were assessed during the time they were in possession as Zemindars while the farmers wish to increase the rate of assessment to that of similar lands on the same estate, or to oust the Zemindars from their lands, and to cultivate them themselves.

2nd.—That the farmer has raised the rents on the petitioners and other ryots.

3rd.—That the farmers cut trees and otherwise damage the estate.

* * * Except on the 2nd claim I have found an opinion unfavourable to the Zemindars.

On their first claim, it appears to me, that under Section XVII of Regulation VI of 1795, the defaulting zemindars are not entitled to hold their seer lands except at the will of the farmer or had a provision been made in the settlement to that effect. In clause one of the above quoted section the neej-jote ground or other land of the Zemindar is retained to the defaulter only when the new Malgoozar shall be willing to allow him to hold it, while, in the fourth clause, no provision of the kind is mentioned. The question is constantly arising between the farmers and the defaulting Zemindars and though, in many cases, by preventing an increase of the jumma bundy the farmers are not allowed to enhance the assessment on the seer lands, and thereby, the defaulting Zemindars are kept in possession at their own terms, still it seems

somewhat hard on the farmer to expect him (as in this instance) to pay the same jumma as the defaulting Zemindar without the same favourable advantage, for in every estate many beeghas of the best land are set aside at a mere nominal rate as the seer or neej-jote of the Zemindar.

Lautoo Tewaree etc. wished in this case to prove that the farmers were sharers in Mowzah Gopeepore but as there had been a division of the property they could not be allowed : however, the petition for the farming arrangement, is doubtfully worded. There are several instances of estates where the farmer being prevented either from taking these lands into their own hands or enhancing the jummas of them, have been obliged to relinquish the settlement. Taking this view of the case I have at present disallowed the Zemindars' claim though as this will become a precedent I beg to be favoured with your orders on the subject.

BENARES, }
June 15, 1837. }

I have, &c.,

TO COLLECTOR.

Benares.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge your report on the petition of Lautoo Tewaree and another. I am of opinion that in estates farmed on on account of arrears of revenue under the provisions of clause 4 Section 17. Regulation VI of 1795, the old zemindars, if they are allowed to continue in possession of their seer lands, must pay to the farmer at the established ryothee rates of the village for similar lands.

GHAZEEPORE, }
June 24, 1837. }

I have, &c.,
(COMMISSIONER).

It is therefore incorrect to suppose that "the doctrine that a Zemindar on losing his position as a village lessee reverted to his position as a privileged cultivator" was ever universally recognised. A certain sentimental sympathy and considerable personal fear on the one part, and a great deal of threatening arrogance on the other, no doubt originated the seer-land arrangement between the novus homo and the ex-zemindars. The conservatism of the country maintained it and now it has become law. But any ill-conditioned farmer or auction purchaser without a soul for sentiment might with all legality have raised the rent on the fat seer land he had paid for ; and, though Dr. Oldham shudders, (on page 9) at the thought, have heartlessly forbidden the ex-zemindars "to cut a twig off the neem tree wherewith to clean their teeth."

But in an article such as this it would be out of place to examine one by one all Dr. Oldham's numerous statements and opinions. It is sufficient to have contested his three strong points—the frequency, the illegality, and the cruelty of auction sales for arrears of revenue in the Benares Province and to have dissected three of his leading illustrative cases. But to give a general idea of the glamoured tone of Dr. Oldham's composition, I would notice here in succession the first five facts given in his Note.

(1) "From statistics collected in 1871 and 1872, it appeared that the crime of infanticide is most practised by those Rajpoot tribes who have lost their ancestral estates; (2) In 1808 a military force was sent to quell the disturbances in part of the Ghazeepore district. (3) In 1812 A.D. a magistrate was deputed to Ghazeepore for the express purpose of suppressing the "serious and disgraceful outrages" and affrays committed in the neighbourhood arising from these sales. (4) So numerous were the cases that in a single month, July, 1813, four hundred and ninety-nine persons were arrested by the Ghazeepore Magistrate (5) On the 31st January 1816, the Collector of Benares reported to his official superiors the complete subversion of his authority in part of the Jaunpore district, and that, owing to the auction sales for revenue, fifteen thousand eight hundred of the Rajpoot zemindars were in arms and completely overawed and set at naught the officers of Government."

(1) "The crime of Infanticide is most practised by those Rajpoot tribes who have lost their ancestral estates." This is very likely to be true inasmuch as these Rajpoot tribes, *before* they lost their ancestral estates, were the leaders in this hideous crime. About a hundred years ago Mr. Duncan found infanticide almost entirely confined to "those parts of the country where the Rajkoomar tribes resided," and the men who thus murdered their children were then in full and very riotous possession of their "ancestral estates."

(2) "In 1808," we read, "a military force was sent to quell the disturbances in part of the Ghazeepore district," Dr. Oldham here leaving it to be understood that these disturbances were owing to auction sales. The disturbances referred to were, however, owing to disputes about alluvial land, and the Collector writes regarding them (in the draft of a Regulation, December 5th, 1808) "serious disputes leading to bloodshed and disturbance of the public peace frequently obtain through a desire of acquiring unqualified and unauthorized possession of gunberamud lands." In the same year also the Collector of Benares reporting on the unsatisfactory state of Ghazeepore says, "party spirit, intrigue, and frauds prevail to a shameful and shameless extent." So that as a matter of fact two other and very distinct explanations may be

offered for the disturbances which Dr. Oldham attributes solely to auction sales.

The date 1808 may, however, be a misprint for 1803, for in that year a body of men was sent to Ghamur in Ghazeepore to keep in order some zemindars whose estates had been attached by the Mirzapore court two years before. The zemindars of Ghamur, of Zemaniah generally, indeed, of nearly the whole district of Ghazeepore, were a turbulent lawbreaking set, and instead of acknowledging the authority of the Adawlut "behaved towards the officers of Government with the greatest indignity and contumacy." In 1803 the Collector was compelled to go to Ghamur in person in consequence of the serious defalcations of revenue, but the zemindars refused to wait upon him, rifled the putwarree's records and finally carried off the putwarree himself. Military aid was therefore resorted to. If this is the case to which Dr. Oldham refers, the following translation of an *urzee* from the Ameen on deputation will explain the real cause of the trouble which it will be seen, was not auction sales at all, but alluvial disputes between the three estates of Ghamur, Shairpore and Burreh.

(Translation of an *urzee* from Permanund Ameen at talookah Ghamur in Pergunnah Zemaniah, dated 17th September 1803, E.E.)

"I have before now repeatedly represented to you the refractory conduct of the zemindars of talookah Ghamar in pergunnah Zemaniah, but no steps have been taken to bring them to punishment. I have, however, through your support, made them, in some degree, sensible of the loyalty due to the British Government * * * but the Affghan residents of Burreh have opposed me in the attempt, and forcibly cultivate the lands of talookah Ghamar, asserting them to belong to Burreh. One day I took the ryots of Ghamar over the river, to make a division of the lands when the Affghans appeared in a body and were ready to raise a fray, and had I not been present at the time, bloodshed would have ensued, to avoid which, however, I returned back to this side of the river. Although I have persuaded the Affghans to show me the *fusulnamah* and their cultivated lands, according to it, yet they will not attend to my injunctions, but forcibly cultivated the lands of Ghamar attaching them to Burreh. The zemindar of the talookah Shairpore, also holding the *fusulnamah* of Mr. Duncan's time will not abide by it, but have forcibly possessed themselves of a part of the lands of Ghamar. * * * Were a military force to be detached and stationed here, I would dispose of the grain and such other property as I could seize and secure the proceeds of them, as also adopt measures to apprehend the zemindars."

(3) "In 1812," says Dr. Oldham, "a magistrate was deputed

to Ghazee-pore for the express purpose of suppressing the serious and disgraceful outrages and affrays committed in the neighbourhood arising from these sales." The authority for the insertion of the all-important words "*arising from these sales*," being, it must be supposed, given by the document from which Dr. Oldham quotes the words "serious and disgraceful outrages." This document I have not, however, met with, but others are before me which, while they show that Ghazee-pore was certainly in 1812 quite as disorderly as usual, do not so much as mention auction sales.

In 1809 the disgraceful state of the Ghazee-pore *Police* was first brought to the notice of Government by the murder of a havildar, and afterwards, of two Sepoys when travelling in that district; and on enquiry it was found that the highroads of Ghazee-pore were the regular *rendezvous* of dacoits and murderers. In that and the following year (1810) the Ghazee-pore Police therefore, underwent considerable reform. The whole Police system of the Province was however then under discussion, and, in 1812 (the year Dr. Oldham refers to) on the representation of the Superintendent of Police, a Special Officer, Mr. Loch, was deputed to Ghazee-pore to *superintend the mofussil police thannahs*. The following is the correspondence, and it will be seen that the deputation of Mr. Loch instead of being a special measure, called for by the mischievous effects in Ghazee-pore of the revenue law, was simply a part of a general Police reform.

(*Extract from a letter from the Superintendent of Police in the North Western Provinces, dated the 20th May 1812.*)

"Para. 24.—It is not necessary, I conceive, that I should enter into a further detail of the defects I have observed to exist more or less in the Mofussil Thannahs of Benares as the inefficiency of the Mofussil Police has, at different times, I believe, been stated to Government by the Magistrate himself, and it was, I presume, in consequence of Mr. Watson's representations on the subject, that his Assistant, Mr. Bird, was deputed in November 1800, to act at Ghazee-pore with the powers of Magistrate. I am also informed that another Assistant in the Benares Court, and latterly, Mr. Watson himself have visited Ghazee-pore with a view to the reform of the Police in that quarter, but it is much to be regretted that the residence of those gentlemen was too short to afford the benefits which would otherwise have resulted from the exercise of their authority on the spot.

25.—"It is generally said that when Ghazee-pore was the station of a Sudder Court, crimes were not prevalent, but from what has been stated in this address it will have appeared that the reverse is now the case. When the jurisdiction was dismembered and transferred to the adjacent districts, it is probable, I conceive, that

had a Magistrate or an Assistant to a Magistrate been continued on the spot, things would have proceeded in their former course, but the total removal of the controlling power, from the place at which it had been long established and the annexation of the different portions of the jurisdictions to Courts, from which they are at so very remote a distance, has weakened the police throughout, and, it is certain, that the thannahs annexed to Benares, Jounpore, and Mirzapore are become notorious for the frequency of affrays attended with murder, and for resistance to the authority of the Magistrate and of the Collector, whose orders are almost wholly disregarded in those parts of the districts alluded to.

£6.—“The considerations which I have had the honor respectfully to submit appear to point directly to the expediency of an officer being appointed to act with the powers of Magistrate at Ghazeepore.”

(4) “So numerous were the cases that in a single month, July 1813, 499 persons were arrested by the magistrate.” The number of persons arrested by a police magistrate, in any month, can hardly be considered a criterion of the working of the revenue law if it is not at the same time shown that their crimes arose from the defects of the law. This is not shown by Dr. Oldham. The following letters may, or may not, be read as commentary on the above. The magistrate of Benares wrote on the 22nd of July 1813 to Mr. Loch (the magistrate referred to by Dr. Oldham) “I request that in all the commitments you may make, on account of this month, you will despatch the prisoners and witnesses on the morning of the 18th proximo. Pray let me know on receipt of this how many commitments there will be.” To this, on the 31st of July 1813, Mr. Loch replied “I beg leave to acquaint you that there are no commitments for this month.” Dr. Oldham’s 499 prisoners must have been very sorry offenders if not one of the whole lot was worthy of commitment for trial.

(5) “On the 31st of January 1816 the Collector of Benares reported to his official superiors the complete subversion of his authority in part of the Jaunpore district, and that, *owing to the auction sales for revenue*, 155,800 of the Rajpoot zemindars were in arms and completely overawed and set at naught the officers of Government.” I have italicised the important words, “Owing to the auction sales for revenue,” as from the records it would appear that internal dissension among the zemindars, the obstinate contumacy of one man in refusing to allow his partners and caste men to become peacable, was the actual cause of the Collector’s anxiety. The tehsildar of the pergunnah reported to the Collector that Angolee was in a very unsatisfactory state, that in 1806 some villages belonging to “Bulwant Singh of the Rajkoomar caste” had been sold for arrears of revenue to Rajah Sheo Lall Dobe who gave

them up in despair in 1811, when, by a second sale, they passed into the hands of Nawab Akbur Ali Khan, who also could make nothing of his purchase and gave it up, so that in 1813 a sezawul had to be appointed to hold them kham. Bulwant Singh had died meanwhile, but his sons Bhugwunt Singh, Hunwaree Singh, Sheodeen Singh, and Duleep Singh, treated the sezawul as their father had treated the auction purchaser. So that in 1816 Government was a loser by Rs. 18,706. The report continues, "and now the aforesaid zemindars are quarrelling among themselves about their shares. Bhugwunt and Sheodeen Singh and Hunwaree Singh are ready to pay the revenue of their own shares, but Duleep Singh, one of the sharers, who has in his employ 45 matchlock-men, is in occupation forcibly of the whole mouzahs and makes away with all the produce, and does not allow the putteedars or officers of Government to enter * * * Bhugwunt Singh and the others present stated that if Duleep Singh was dispossessed from the mouzahs they would pay up the balances, so I sent a jemadar with four chupprasees to aid the three zemindars, but Duleep Singh forcibly turned the jemadar and his party out of the mouzahs.

There are 204 lumbers, *i.e.*, estates under separate pottahs within the tehsildaree of pergunnah Angoolee, 38 of which are held by persons of the Rajkoomar and Cutchwyah castes, and the other 160 by persons of other castes. The estates of these Rajkoomar and Cutchwyah castes are very extensive, the revenues collected from them very small, and their gains very great and in no proportion to the sircaree jumma. These Rajkoomar and Cutchwyah castes have granted jagheers from their lands and retain some 500 and some 700 matchlock-men; a computed account of their number is written below. When they assembled a gohar they sound the nukarah (drum) and in a short time thousands of armed men of their castes collect from every side. From ancient times they have been a rebellious set and seldom come near the amil and tehsildars of the Government, and, if at any time, one of them should come he comes attended by hundreds of matchlock-men. Formerly the amils of the sircar, on account of their receiving the deyuk commission, and having under their control the police of the country, used to keep hundreds of men and were consequently respected. Still their frequent rebellions and balances of Government revenue were withholden, and the assets of the revenue were forcibly made away with. The amil of the time being used to realize the revenues by forcible means of plunder, and if sometimes the defaulters fled and escaped, he himself made good the revenue in consequence of his engagements as a deyekdar tehsildar from his own funds. Owing to the rebellion of these people in the time of Rajah Sheo Loll Dohbly the deyekdar, the tehsildar of the pergunnah on one occasion the

troops of the sircar were sent into his tehsildaree and made forcible levies.

The balances of these mouzah since 1222 Fuslee have accumulated to the sum of 187,062-1-8, and if, in order to realize such balance, the lands of the defaulters are put up to sale, none will buy them on account of the refractoriness of the zemindars and the impossibility of getting possession. Some people who have purchased lands in former years have never been able to obtain possession. This circumstance has occasioned a further obstruction to the measure of selling lands in the tehsildaree. Since 1217 Fuslee the revenue has every year become less and the balances greater, previously to this time the Huzoor sometimes came here, and on some occasions the Registrar of the Adawlut also came with a military force. When revolvers see only a small party they are ready to persist in their revolt and to oppose them, and when they see a superior force they fly to the confines of the Nawab Vizeer's dominions which adjoin, and there remain hid so that none of them are taken, and none of the balances realized from them. If it goes on much longer in this way there will soon be no revenue at all, and the whole of this tehsildaree will pass into the hands of the revolvers like jagheers and lakheraj possessions, and from the gains thereof their power will yearly increase, and it will become more difficult to put an end to them. I was tehsildar of pergunnah Agoree Burhur from 1218 Fuslee to 1221 Fuslee, and it is known to the Huzoor how punctually I would realize the revenues there, but here, notwithstanding all the exertions I have made and am making to get in past balances or the future balance, they are, for the reasons I have above assigned, totally ineffectual. I beg to suggest as plans for the realization of the balances and to secure the attention of the future revenues; first, that a military force be put into the pergunnah to seize the revolvers and to plunder their houses and banish them from the country, so that, when they are gone, other people may be established as inhabitants in their place with whom a new settlement may be made, and from whom the revenue may be collected."

The above, in no way important in themselves, go collectively to show that Dr. Oldham has read with glamoured eyes. By looking fixedly for some time at the dazzling iniquities of the three great tehseeldars, Deokiniundun, Sheo Lall Dobeh, and Furzund Ali, Dr. Oldham sees wherever he looks on the page of history a dazzling blur. But Sheo Lall Dobeh, Duncan's special protégé, did right royal service in clearing Budlapore of its hereditary miscreants, and for this was rewarded with the ancestral *talooka*, and made a Rajah. After this, it is only too true, he abused his great power to amass landed property, but what is the position of the present representative of the jewel-pedlar? Furzund Ali, again,

acquired large estates by force or fraud, but, as Dr. Oldham says, "the family of Furzund Ali are now poor." Deokinundun also was infamous in fraud, but his great grandson is now as hereditary as any of these jemadars whom his ancestor swindled out of their estates, and if Dr. Oldham will only be content to wait in hope a profligate cadet may yet arise to work the revenges of time and squander away the patrimonial estate. There were giants in those days and of a race which is now quite extinct.

But Dr. Oldham while still reeling under his first discovery of the enormities of 1800, received a finishing blow by the perpetration in 1868 of those two iniquitous judgments mentioned on page 8 of his Note, and with an Alpha and an Omega thus ready to his hand he filled in the full alphabet of crime and cruelty.

Dr. Oldham to support this charge of cruelty lays stress on the inadequate prices for which some estates were sold. Thus he seeks sympathy for the recusants of Murdeh Khas on the ground that their estate was sold for six rupees, but, as I have already shown, it is not on record that that estate did change owners at that figure. In another place, indeed in several places, Dr. Oldham returns to this point that the sale of estates by auction was aggravated by the smallness of the balances for which they were sold, or the inadequate prices at which purchasers were allowed to buy. If I were contesting Dr. Oldham's views instead of his facts, I should, of course, appeal to the now hackneyed truths that, at a public sale by auction, any interference with the bidding would have been unjust and immoral; further that Government could not in common honesty exercise any right of pre-emption or, if it did, could not have afforded to hold *kham* at a ruinous loss the estates which it bought in, and by so doing I should expose the very unpractical nature of Dr. Oldham's complaints. At any rate the revenue authorities of Benares in 1820 cannot, I take it, be held at fault for the small value of landed property fifty years ago, and after the lapse of half a century it is impossible to say what causes may have been at work to depreciate that value. The following phrases, however, taken from the records of three successive years are noteworthy as showing that the zemindars were not always much concerned about the loss of their lands—(a) "as the zemindars have twice refused to comply with the conditions on which it was proposed to restore them to their property, the Board must confirm the sale should the interest not have been paid up"—(b) "as the proprietors have not offered any objection to the sale, the Board presumes that it is not their wish that the sale should be annulled: the sale is accordingly confirmed"—(c) "the proprietors not having attempted to avert the transfer of their lands, the sale may stand good." But I am rather concerning myself with Dr. Oldham's *facts* and when, therefore, he enunciates

as an axiom that fifty years ago 'ancestral' estates were, as a rule, allowed without any compunction to go for a mere song, I would content myself with saying that, so far from this being the rule, it must have been a very rare exception indeed. For confirmation of my opinion I would refer the reader to the tabular statements I have given above and to the following formula which occurs repeatedly in every volume of land-sales correspondence. "The Board desire that when the balances are inconsiderable, compared with the sudder jumma, you will not proceed to the actual sale," and to this, "the Board must leave it to the discretion of the Collectors to sell or not as they may judge proper. It is sufficient for them to express generally their desire, that sales shall not take place when the balances are inconsiderable when compared with the sudder jumma." This injunction was repeated *seven* times in one year—1819. In the volume for 1821 nearly every letter acknowledging the receipt of the Collector's proposed sale-lists contains the following formula—"The Board approve the advertisement of the sale, but trust to the discretion of the Collector in not proceeding to the actual sale of the estates, the sudder jumma of which bears a large proportion to the balance due," or, as it is phrased in some of the letters, "desires the Collector will, on no account, proceed to the sale of those estates, the sudder jumma of which &c. &c."

Now, are these the expressions of men careless as to the price at which estates sold?—or this? "As regards the lots bearing a jumma greatly disproportionate to the trifling arrears due from them, the Commissioner desires you will either propose for sale a portion of these estates or realize the balances by other measures." (1816.)

Dr. Oldham, again, would score a point from the fact that, in some years, lands put up to sale found no bidders—but why did Dr. Oldham not go on to explain, that this very absence of bidders was seized upon by Government as another excuse for an extension of indulgence to defaulters, an indulgence at all times too liberally extended. A letter from the Board dated September 26, 1818, contains the following:—"The estates which have been held kham in consequence of finding no bidders may be returned to their proprietors as the balances have been recovered." This was grossly illegal, I confess, but was there any cruelty to the landowner in a procedure which extended the days of grace indefinitely, and which permitted the restoration of a forfeited estate, whenever the recusant might be pleased to pay up the revenue he had been wilfully withholding? Dr. Oldham, it appears to me, is in error when, from a single instance, he would argue an universal procedure, or, with a high hand, distribute the villainy of a Deokinundun over the administration of half a century. The Records of the Province,

of which Dr. Oldham writes, do not bear him out in his statements unless single cases of hardship, provoked by the obstinate contumacy of zemindars, are to outweigh the hundreds of cases in which the revenue authorities, by severely straining the spirit of the law, extended an indulgence quite unjustified by the circumstances of default or the character of the defaulters.

The "special report" mentioned so often by Dr. Oldham as being conspicuously absent in all the cases of sales of land up to 1817, although required to legalize such sales, is, I find, referred to more than once in correspondence before that date. In 1813, an estate was placed under kham management, and, at the end of two years, "not a single fraction of a rupee had been paid into the public treasury" (Board of Commissioners to G. G. in C. July 20, 1813), the Board therefore referred for an opinion to the Governor General, who took council of the Sudder Dewanny, and the Board were authorized to exercise the discretion vested in them of selling the estate. Here then we have both "wilful embezzlement," *i.e.*, "misappropriation of funds arising from the produce," and also, the "special report," and, therefore, a legal sale even by Dr. Oldham's showing. But Dr. Oldham throughout his paper appears to think that a Collector *had the power* to sell an estate—which he had not. It is true that he went through the form of selling 100, or more estates a month, but the three or four estates *confirmed in sale* per annum had all to be specially reported upon, *and were specially reported upon*. In 1814, the Collector of Benares is specially reminded that, without such a report, confirmation of sale is impossible, and again, in the same year, he is censured for not having submitted such report. Unless the submission of this "special report" had been the rule, would the omission of it have been remarked upon? The inference certainly is, that it would not, and, as a matter of fact, I would not hesitate to say, that no sale was confirmed until the Collector had fully reported and the Board deliberately considered the circumstances of default.

Again, Dr. Oldham devotes a large part, several pages of Section IV of his Note, to the wrongs suffered by honest putteedars when their coparcenars were in default. But he does not state the all-important fact that it was at all times in the power of those Putteedars to claim, and by the simple act of registration to establish, the partiton of the estate and their own individual and separate recognition as sharers in that estate liable only for the jummas assessed on their respective shares! The obstinacy with which the inferior putteedars refused to avail themselves of this safeguard and privilege is forcibly put forward by Mr. Salmon in the letter above quoted and compels us to withhold all sympathy from them when their obstinacy brought about its inevitable results.

Dr. Oldham's sympathies are those of Mr. Jonathan Duncan, but he has not the same excuse for them. Mr. Jonathan Duncan, "the Legislator of the Province" was at all times moderate and, sometimes, moderate to a fault. To his moderation, his hesitation lest he should hurt Hindoo feelings, our abkarry system owes its first official existence, just as to his moderation, his fear lest the Synghers should draw their swords upon him, the Lucknessur of 1810 owed the troubles that should have fallen on the Lucknessur of 1790. The spoilt children of Russerah, Chit, Secunderpore and Bulleah had all to be whipped by Mr. Duncan's successors, for though the whip was made by Mr. Duncan himself it was put by "in the cupboard and the bad boys of the Benares family having been given everything they cried for were moderately contented for a while. It is to this period that Dr. Oldham looks back as the Golden Age of Benares, but it is impossible to read dispassionately the records of Mr. Duncan's Proceedings" without feeling that he was bequeathing a legacy of trouble, storing up whirlwinds for his successors if these should happen to be men who would not, on sentimental grounds, brook the triumph of banded breakers of the law or allow impunity to Zalim Singhs. Mr. Duncan's caution was, however, hardly cowardice, for he had not the strength to punish. So that "the Rajpoot whose character it is never to concede a point of any kind," so much admired by Dr. Oldham, found a place in the antediluvian India, before the land had been measured or armies formed, and when Mammoth-Tehseeldars and pterodactyle outlaws straddled and coursed over the inchoate Province. But such a Rajpoot can have no place under an orderly government, unless a place is also to be found for the Choctaw India. His character also it is "never to concede a point of any kind." The latter, however, is disappearing with the elk whose forests his father shared, and the Rajpoot of Mr. Duncan's day, unless he changes the 'character' Dr. Oldham has given him, must disappear also—as his father's mud forts have disappeared or the tigers that roamed in the jungles that once screened Sultanat Singhs from justice. Against the primeval Rajpoot, therefore, Mr. Duncan stayed his hand for, in the first place, he was afraid to strike and, in the second, he had not the will to hurt. Dr. Oldham's sympathies also are with the Rajpoots. He fears their revenge—the revolt of Ghazeepore is foretold on page 42 of the Memoir—and would remove the incentives thereto. This revolt is, of course, a possible contingency just as, in Grimm's story, was the falling of the hatchet from the cellar beam on the head of Franz's grandson. But Franz was not even a father when his wife foretold the calamity, and the neighbours were therefore, perhaps, justified in the rudeness of cackling at the prediction.

Towards Dr. Oldham's sympathy, the very Christian desire to see the skeins of injustice unravelled, it is impossible not to feel all respect. But the injustice of which he complains is of modern growth. It does not strike roots into the far past. The sale of ancestral property may have now become deplorable, but, fifty years ago, it was neither frequent nor illegal, and where Dr. Oldham would shine a Cid, he shows a field only, a Don Quixote. He bestrides Rosinante not Babieca: his distressed knights are really hand-cuffed convicts.

It is hardly necessary to point out the very unpractical character of Dr. Oldham's concluding suggestions. These may be briefly summed up thus—that the Zemindars whose estates were sold in the early part of the century should now be restored to their lands. But as the illegality of those sales has not yet been proved, it is difficult to appreciate the justice of such a proposition.

Why does not Dr. Oldham turn his attention to a really glaring illegality which is apparent throughout the records of the Benares Province—the illegal extension of indulgence to defaulting Zemindars? It was ordered in 1832 by the Sudder Board of Revenue that Collectors were not to allow more than a month's grace to defaulters after their estates were sold. This order was regularly disobeyed by the Collectors, for, of the hundreds of sales cancelled, quite half were redeemed by Zemindars after the legitimate period had expired, and, if the administration of the past is now to be corrected, as Dr. Oldham advises, it will be necessary to find out the heirs of the original purchasers of the estates illegally redeemed, to offer them the refusal of these estates, and, on their declining, to repay to the heir of the original proprietors the amount of the balance illegally received from their forefathers, and again to expose the estate to sale by auction!

But to recommend such "justice" seriously would be a burlesque on the records of a most noble administration and a travesty of statesmanship.

Before concluding I would briefly refer to a very special circumstance which ought, I think, to have special importance attached to it in any consideration of the Ghazeepore district. I refer to the very exceptional character of the Ghazeepore Zemindars. The ruffianly land-owning tribes of that district—the Rajpoots of Chit, the Leynghers of Sucknessur, the men of Secunderpore and Zumaneea—whom neither Rajas, Residents, nor Collectors of Benares have been able to coerce into subordination to law, have been notorious from the very earliest history of the country for their constant and unprovoked turbulence. During the Mutiny of 1857 they crowned their infamy. The character of these men is of itself amply sufficient to explain even more "disgraceful outrages" than Dr. Oldham can enumerate, for, to be disgracefully outrageous,

has been their policy from first to last, and it is an open question whether the advice of the barbarous but honest old Tehseeldar with regard to similar tribes in Anglee, as recorded above, is not preferable to Dr. Oldham's. The country could well spare the hereditary law-breakers of Ghazeepore.

I have before now used my pen in the daily press to oppose those who see no mischief, no wickedness in the ejection of land-owners under the paltry decrees of Civil Courts under the present laws and, if only from the jealousy I feel for a cause I have once spoken for, I would protest against the tone of Dr. Oldham's championship of it—protest against the attempt to support a strong case by weak argument based on the procedure of past administrations, I would even go to the extreme length of that settlement officer who advocated, a year or so ago, the Government right of pre-emption and a recourse to disastrous kham administrations rather than acquiesce in a policy that gives us the mahajun or upstart vakeel in the place of the more ignorant, but quasi-hereditary zemindar, but I recognise neither expediency nor morality in throwing back our own sins upon the third or fourth generation of our predecessors. It may be symmetrical in an argument to contend that, from 1774 to 1874, revenue administration has been sliding along in a groove of impolitic illegality and cruelty, but it has little truth and less honesty to recommend it.

The labour which Dr. Oldham has expended on his work, and the very noble spirit of benevolence in which it was undertaken cannot be magnified by the mere expression of admiration, and, indeed, I should have hesitated to come forward in opposition to opinions that had been expressed by so weighty an exponent, knowing as I did that the circulation and, therefore, the influence of a pamphlet on so severe a subject must be very limited, the more so, as it carried in its unpractical and impracticable conclusion the elements of self-destruction (as a scorpion carries in its tail the instrument of suicide) had not the daily press, startled by the magnitude of Dr. Oldham's figures, the serious import of his charges and the earnestness of his language, while unable to gauge the value of his illustrative cases, echoed his sentiments and quoted his more striking passages, and when Error thus threatens to become popularized it is the duty of those who can lay their hands on Ithuriel's spear to prick the toad.

PHIL. ROBINSON.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

I. VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

A Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language ; with copious Examples and Exercises. By A. H. Arden, M.A., Missionary of the C.M.S., Masulipatam.

TELUGU is, perhaps, the most attractive language of India. It possesses a peculiar sweetness and grace of expression. Depending very much on Sanskrit for its words, it softens them down and inflects them with such peculiar regard to euphony, that they resemble stately and symmetrical shapes of heroes clad in the flowing and graceful robes of some high festival. Telugu has the art of softening without weakening or degrading the words which it takes from the Sanskrit or retains from the Drâvidian "ursprache." To this language the work we are noticing is a worthy introduction.

Mr. Arden in his preface gives a list of Telugu grammars ; but those of A. D. Campbell and C. P. Brown (both of the Madras Civil Service of the East India Company in its palmy days) were, till the publication of this work, the guides of the European student. Both of these grammars are remarkably good. Campbell's is accurate, clear, and concise, and is enriched by a preliminary treatise on the Drâvidian languages in which Mr. Ellis proves their independence of Sanskrit. Brown's is hardly a grammar, but it is a well-filled store house of Telugu in which everything is to be found, if the student has time and patience to seek.

Mr. Arden's work is very different from these. He has aimed from first to last at being useful to the student. He leads the learner by the hand, warns him of each danger, clears the ground of every obstacle, and makes his way safe and easy. The scholar will doubtless make C. P. Brown a companion in due time, and a most useful one he will find him but Mr. Arden will henceforth be the *Dvârapâlaka*—the guardian of the gate—of this beautiful language.

It is hardly necessary to give a detailed account of Mr. Arden's work. It is the book which every person desiring to learn Telugu will hereafter procure. Its character as a familiar guide takes from its scientific value, perhaps ; but it is thoroughly correct, and contains a complete exposition of the "facts" of the spoken language. Part III. gives in about 40 pages an introduction to the "grammatical dialect."

The work is very well printed at the press of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," and to those who learnt Telugu from the old books printed on "rice-paper," and in a perplexingly indistinct type, the beautiful clear pages of Mr. Arden's book will present a striking contrast.

Mr. Arden has earned the thanks of all lovers of Telugu, and we sincerely hope that the time will come when every Vernacular language of India will possess as judicious and competent a guide to its mysteries.

Gándhārī Vilāpa, or Lamentations of Gándhārī. By Bhubana Mohana Ghosa. Bhowanipur Press. 1277 B.S.

THIS poem was published about three years ago ; but we received it during this quarter for review. We noticed in one of our back numbers, that the educated gentlemen of this country have begun to reap considerable advantages from the study of English literature, science, and philosophy. Fresh publications by native authors are not only being offered in rapid succession to the world ; but they are also embellished with novel scenes painted in variegated colors. Beautiful novels, of which we had no instance in early times, pleasing romances, of a really animating nature ; regular dramas, of a cast greatly differing from that of the old classical play ; poems, full of spirit and pathos, and in divers metres ; all these we now have, though not in sufficient number. And of all these the majority lose their charms to persons of a tolerable English education, who find in them nothing new but the old types of the Western genius clothed in a different garb. Though we regret the want of originality, *bonâ fide* originality, in most of the modern authors of this country, we are very sensible of the good results that flow from their acquaintance with the productions of Western minds. Milton taught Michael Madhu Sudan Datta to dispel the popular notion that the heroic blank verse of the immortal author of *Paradise Lost*, was not compatible with the weakness of, and should therefore not be introduced into the Bengali language. Babu Bankima Chandra is the Walter Scott of India. Byron also has his own imitators in this country. A few poems have, within the last five years, been composed in Byron's versification ; and of these, *Nirbāsiter Vilāpa* by Babu Siva Nathā, M.A., is decidedly the best. Our author has also endeavoured to walk in the same track ; and though he has not been equally successful, his versification on the whole deserves our unfeigned applause and commendation. The rhyming lines in the book under review, like those of the *Nirbasiter Vilāpa*, are quite unlike the rhymes of Valmiki ; and they run into one

another with perfect grace, ease, and melody. But, if this quantity of praise is due to our author for his alertness and skill in modelling his verses after Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, he cannot be equally praised when his work is judged by its matter. The lamentations of a mother on the death of her gifted son, are naturally calculated to move the hardest heart to the core; but when these bewailings extend to a considerable length, our feelings grow cold and we become indifferent and perceive no interest in the matter. The book under notice appears to us long to a fault. As its pages run on, the lines appear to lose their feeling character. The author would have done well, if, instead of exhausting his thoughts in full, he had confined the sentiments of his heart within a narrower space and left more to his readers' imagination. Again, some critics have charged our author with not having proved himself very successful in holding up a faithful picture of nature. A writer nowhere manifests so conspicuously his lack of tragic genius, as when he makes a person, labouring under a very strong agitation of anger or grief or any violent passion, describe to a bystander what he felt at that time or what he then resembled. On this philosophical observation of Dr. Blair, the critics have based their arguments. We admit the truth and aptness of Dr. Blair's opinion; but we are sorry the critics have not understood the spirit of the remark. True,—it would be affectation in a really afflicted person to give vent to his feelings, and exhaust himself in similes and metaphors. True, a writer who sins in this respect should be censured. But it would be very natural and not at all affected, if a bystander sought for resemblances and metaphors to describe the affliction. A slight consideration would have convinced these flippant critics of the fact that our author acts as a bystander only; and is therefore justified in indulging largely in rhetorical embellishments. The citations they make in support of their arguments, satisfactorily prove their own mistake; inasmuch as in these passages *Gándhári* is not made to speak in the first person; and our author, as a third party, is simply pointing out her afflictions.

To do justice to our author's discretion we must not omit to notice that the figures and images, used in the book under notice, are really poetical, though not all original—being for the most part borrowed from classic poets as well as contemporaries. In spite of all its deficiencies and failings the poem, on the whole, has many of the virtues that entitle a work to be read by our tender-aged boys and girls; and what virtues it has, it has in a greater measure than many of the text-books that are now used in our vernacular schools.

Sabda kalpa druma. A comprehensive Sanskrita Dictionary, By Rájá Rádhá kánta Deb Bahadur.—Republished in parts by Bábus Baradá kánta Mitra and Co., Madhyastha Press, Calcutta. 1280 B.S.

IN this age when the study of Sanskrit literature and philosophy is steadily increasing, it is no wonder that men have learned to perceive the utility of a regular comprehensive Sanskrit dictionary, and to call for the supply of the want. It is admitted that there already exist many works of the kind ; but their scarcity, combined with their insufficiency, arising from the invention of new words and technical terms, renders fresh editions and new publications necessary. As for the work before us, we have one more reason to rejoice at its reappearance. It contains a methodised synopsis of the customs, habits, manners, religious rites, and observances of the ancient inhabitants of this country ; and as such it serves as a most valuable and trustworthy guide to the historian, and an interesting study to the general reader. After long labour and due reflection, and with the most profitable assistance of the greatest geniuses of the time, Rájá Rádhá Kánta, himself a most prolific genius, succeeded in bringing out his far-famed work of *Sabda kalpa druma* ; and thereby established for ever his claims to the admiration and gratitude of the whole literary world. The importance and usefulness of this dictionary have been so completely realised by the linguists of different nations, that in a short time, copies of it could not be had in India to the number wanted. It, however, seemed, from the magnitude of the work, very questionable whether the editing of it would not be a wasteful and undesirable undertaking, till recently when the present publishers took it in hand. Highly regretting the scarcity of this book—a book which ought to be consulted upon all matters relating to the prehistoric age of India—they have taken upon themselves the noble, though singularly arduous task of reprinting it with slight additions and alterations. But for the exertions of Cowar Upendra Krisna Deb, in the cause of this publication, the task would have been, we have every reason to believe, altogether impracticable. Three parts, each extending over eighty neat quarto pages, have, we are glad to report, already seen the light. Printed on good paper and in good type, they are so admirably and carefully got up that, if the rest of the work comes up to the same standard, the whole task will end successfully and greatly to the honor and credit of the publishers ; we wish them every success. Before we conclude, let us express a hope that other equally worthy adventurers will bring out an epitome of this large dictionary, which may be used as a convenient handbook by the Sanskrit student.

2 — GENERAL LITERATURE.

Legal Maxims. Illustrated with special reference to the Laws in force in British India. By P. Sreenevasrow, Madras. Higginbotham and Co. 1873.

WE regard this work with interest and satisfaction, not only as a very useful one in itself, but also as a successful effort in paving the way to a higher standard of legal study; for, important and dignified as is the inquiry into questions of right and justice, it would be vain if the student did not understand the principles on which they are based. Some there are, who would staunchly advocate the arbitrariness of positive laws, and deny the adaptability of the principles of law governing one kind of society, to another far lower in the scale of civilisation and with manners and habits of life wholly peculiar to themselves. But "the reasons and the principles of the law," says Chitty, "never change"; and in all political societies where legislation proceeds upon rational principles, the legislature is always guided in its work by certain established *rules*, the universal applicability of which has been tested by vast and varied experience, and which are recognised as true in all systems of jurisprudence. This being the fact, allowing due weight to the influence of custom, it is impossible for any jurist not to admit that in a civilised community, the arbitrary will of the law-giver is always subservient to the welfare of the public at large. These rules are designated by English lawyers *legal maxims*. They are not mere obsolete Latin phrases referring to by-gone days, but of everyday use and application. They are the original and operative cause of the law. *Ratio legis est anima legis*. For "although," says the learned Coke, "a man may tell the law, yet if he know not the reason thereof, he shall soon forget his superficial knowledge. But when he findeth the right reason of the law, and so bringeth it to its natural reason that he comprehendeth it as his own, this will not only serve him for the understanding of any particular case but of many others; and this knowledge will always remain with him." The want of a treatise explaining these maxims has long been felt by Indian students; and the work before us has filled remarkably well a serious chasm in our legal literature. It is an able attempt to illustrate the *legal maxims* with special reference to the laws now in force in this country. "This is a consideration," says our author, "which induced me to take up a work, which, in its scope at all events, is calculated to impress upon the minds of Indian students of law, the grand principles of our system of jurisprudence, and thereby to facilitate their labours in understanding the law in all its various branches together with the reasons which, in fact, are the soul of the law."

In this book the reader will find the substantive portions of Indian law brought to bear upon the maxims which they illustrate,—gathered from the rules of Hindu and Muhammadan law, the Statutes of Parliament, the Regulations and Acts of the Indian Legislature, and the reported judgments of the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council, and of the Superior Courts in India. The system of codification which is being attempted now-a-days, by the Indian Legislature, and which is meeting with such signal success in its operation, and the consolidating Acts passed by the Honorable Mr. Maine and the Honorable Mr. Stephen, have tended much to simplify the undigested mass of contradictory case-law which not long ago ruled our courts. This has materially assisted our author in his somewhat arduous task. Besides citing the particular sections which embody particular maxims, he has given us ample quotations from authoritative text-writers on English law, sometimes to supply their deficiencies, and, at others, to explain the abstruse rules of law contained in the Acts themselves. In this way, three hundred of the most important Legal Maxims are illustrated, but, as the author says, all these are subservient to the three following grand and fundamental axioms, namely :

I.—*Juris praecepta sunt haec ; honeste vivere, alterum non laedere, suum cuique tribuere.*

II.—*Fiat justitia, ruat cælum*

III.—*Nulli differremus justitiam.*

The most interesting part of the book,—one that well repays perusal, is our author's refutation of the erroneous notion prevalent among Englishmen, that the natives of India are generally given to mendacity, and that even the ancient Hindu law allows it in plain terms. With reference to the veracity of Indian witnesses, he quotes the observations made by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Phear in an address which he delivered to the Bethune Society in 1866. The following is an extract :—

The witnesses that come into Court have no idea of giving evidence in our English sense of the word. They come there honestly to support that side which they believe to be true. They come to state what is the story which they have learnt to believe, and when they give utterance to representations which to our English ears look as if they had intended to say that they had seen this, that they had perceived that, they are not mendacious. They do not mean to deceive you ; they are simply intending to vouch that story which they believe honestly to be true, and which they believe they have been summoned to the Court to vouch. The admirers of existing systems, who think that everything is perfect, very easily find excuses for deficiencies which are not easily remedied. And one of the very first that is put forward, one that I have often heard, so often and often, that I am doubtful how I ought to answer it—is that the testimony of witnesses throughout this country, and the evidence even of documents, is from the circumstances inherent in the people, so untrustworthy, that the ordinary

rules for judging matters of fact are not to be followed but that the most eccentric routes to a conclusion which can be devised, are preferable thereto. Gentlemen, I do not share that belief. My short experience on the Original Side of the High Court has led me to the conclusion that the intrinsic value of oral testimony, in this country, is pretty much the same as it is in England.

These remarks coming from a Judge renowned for his learning and his acute observation, ought to carry the very greatest weight of authority with them. Let us see what Mr. Sreenivasrow says in support of his other thesis :

But a belief is pretty widely prevalent that the Hindu Code allows a lie to be told. This is not in principle true. That Code is as forcible as any other religious Code in deprecating the vice of lying, and in inculcating the virtue of truth. Menu says :—‘ Headlong in utter darkness shall the impious wretch tumble into Hell, who being interrogated in a judicial inquiry answers questions falsely.’ And ‘ by truth is a witness cleared from sin, by truth is justice advanced, truth must therefore be spoken by witnesses of every class.’ (Menu Chap. VIII. 83). It is no secret, however, that the Hindu Code makes an exception to the rule in cases where one is obliged to speak the truth from pious motives. But this privilege is restricted to a very few and most exceptional cases ; so that one that fairly interprets and scrutinises the passages in Menu will feel convinced that the relaxation of the general rule of veracity in those extremely limited instances, is not calculated to lead to the production of any evil in point of moral, and that, after all the exceptions spoken of by Menu, are mostly affecting those puzzles in morals which have long been the subject of great discussion and difference of opinion among the moralists even of the Western School. Moreover, it must be remarked, that Menu does not say that a divergence from truth, even in such restricted cases is a virtue ; but on the contrary the sage declares, ‘ you will thereby commit a sin no doubt, but it is a venial sin, produced by the utterance of a benevolent falsehood’ (Menu VIII. 106) and then the Sage proceeds to lay down rules for expiating the sin thus committed.

With arguments like these he attempts to effect his purpose. The first question still seems to allow room for difference of opinion, but the second one, which has been mooted since the days of Sir William Jones, scarcely leaves any, even the slightest, margin for doubt.

On the whole the book under notice is complete in itself. True, the author does not bring with him the recommendation of any of the Inns of court, but the amount of learning which he has displayed, the excellent order of his arrangement (in which, by the way, he has followed Broom), and the facility with which he has explained the maxims without the least tincture of that unmeaning pedantry which disfigures the works of many English text-writers, would do credit to any Advocate from Lincoln’s Inn or Middle Temple.
